

England's black Tribunall.

Set forth in the

TRIA LL O F K. CHARLES. I.

At a High Court of Justice at *Westminster-Hall*.
Together with his last Speech when he was put to
death on the Scaffold; *January 30. 1648.*

To which is added the several dying Speeches
and manner of the putting to death of

Earl of *Strafford*.
Arch-Bishop of *Canter-*
bury.
Duke *Hamilton*.
Earl of *Holland*.
Lord *Capell*.
Earl of *Darby*.
Sir *Alex. Carew*.
Sir *John Hobart*.
Capt. *Hochkins*.
Mr. *Nath. Tomkins*:

Mr. *Chaloner*.
Col. *Jo. Morris*.
Cor. *Blackburn*.
Col. *Andrews*.
Sir *Hen. Hyde*.
Col. *Gerrard*.
Mr. *Pet. Vowell*.
Col. *Penraddock*.
Capt. *Hugh Grove*.
Sir *Hen. Slingsby*.
Doctor *Jo. Hewit*:

The fourth Edition corrected and enlarged;

London Printed for *J. Playford*. 1680.

TO THE
R E A D E R.

WHereas there has been printed of late years many severall impressions of *the Relation of the Tryall of King Charles the 1st.* and of the manner of the putting him to Death, many of which have been very imperfect, having had most of the remarkable passages left out; But in this Edition, some paines and care has been used to have it exact and perfect, the which the Reader will find made

A 3 good.

good if he compare it to any of
the former Printed copies; Also
an addition of the dying speeches
of such of the English Nobilitie,
Clergie, and Gentry, as has been
executed for the cause of the late
King, from 1642. to 1659. of all
which, these following are true
and exact Copies as no doubt
will appear to the reader in the
perusuall thereof.

I. P.

A

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KING CHARLES
HIS
TRYALL:

Began *Saturday January 20th* and ended
January 27. 1648.

An ACT.

*An Act of the Commons of England
assembled in Parliament, for erecting
of an High Court of Justice, for the
Trying, and Judging of CHARLES
STUART King of England.*

W Hereas it is notozious, That
Charles Stuart the now King of
England, not content with those
many ineroachments, which his
Predecessors had made upon the People
in their Rights and Freedoms, hath had a
B wicked

wicked design totally to subvert the ancient and fundamental Lawes and Liberties of this Nation: And in their place, to introduce an arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, with fire and sword leyed and maintained a cruel war in the Land, against the Parliament and Kingdome; Whereby the Countrey hath been miserably wasted, the publick Treasury exhausted, Trade decayed, and thousands of People murthered, and infinite of other mischiets committed; For all which High and Treasonable Offences, the said Charles Stuart might long since justly have been brought to exemplary and condign punishment: Whereas also the Parliament, well hoping that the restraint and imprisonment of his person, (after it had pleased God to deliver him into their hands) would have quieted the disturbers of the Kingdom, did forbear to proceed judicially against him: But found by sad experience, that such their remissions served onely to encourage him and his complices, in the Continuance of their evil practises, and in raising of new Commotions, designs, and invasions; For prevention therefore of the like greater inconveniences, And to the end that no Magistrate or Officer whatsoever, may hereafter presume traitersonly
and

and maliciously to imagine or contrive
 the inflaming or destroying of the English
 Nation, and to expect impunity in so do-
 ing: Be it ordained and enacted by the
 Commons in Parliament assembled, and
 it is hereby ordained and enacted by the
 Authority thereof; That Thomas Lord
 Fairfax General, Oliver Cromwell Lieute-
 nant General, Henry Ireton Commissary
 General, Phillip Skippon Major General,
 Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel Valentine
 Walton, Col. Thomas Harrison, Col. Edw.
 Whalley, Col. Tho. Pride, Col. Isaac Ewers,
 Col. Rich. Ingoldsby, Col. Rich. Dean, Col.
 John Okey, Col. Robert Overton, Col. John
 Harrison, Col. John Desborow, Col. Will.
 Goffe, Col. Rob. Duckenfield, Col. Rowland
 Wilson, Col. Henry Martin, Col. William
 Purefoy, Col. Godfrey Bosvile, Col. Herbert
 Morley, Col. John Barkstead, Col. Matthew
 Tomlinson, Col. John Lambert, Col. Edmund
 Ludlow, Col. John Hutchinson, Col. Robert
 Titchborn, Col. Owen Roe, Col. Robert
 Manwaring, Col. Robert Lilburn, Col. Adrian
 Scroop, Col. Algernoon Sidney, Col. John
 Moore, Col. Francis Lasells, Col. Alexander
 Rigby, Col. Edmund Harvey, Col. John
 Venn, Col. Anthony Stapley, Col. Thomas
 Horton, Col. Tho. Hammond, Col. George
 Fenwick, Col. George Fleetwood, Col. John

4 *The Act for the Tryal of*

Temple, Col. Thomas Waite, **Sir** Henry Mildmay, **Sir** Thomas Honeywood, Thomas Lord Grey, Philip Lord Lisle, William Lord Mounson, **Sir** John Danvers, **Sir** Thomas Maleverer, **Sir** John Bouchier, **Sir** James Harrington, **Sir** William Brereton, Robert Wallop, William Heveningham, **Esquires**; Isaac Pennington, Thomas Atkins **Aldermen**, **Sir** Peter Wentworth, Thomas Trenchard, Jo. Blakston, Gilbert Millington, **Esquires**; **Sir** Will. Constable, **Sir** Arthur Haslrigg, **Sir** Mich. Livesey, Richard Salway, Hump. Salway, Cor. Holland, Jo. Carey, **Esquires**; **Sir** Will. Armin, Jo. Jones, Miles Corbet, Francis Allen, Thomas Lister, Ben. Weston, Peter Pelham, Io. Gusden, **Esquires**; Fra. Thorpe **Esq**; **Serjeant at Law**, Io. Nut, Tho. Challoner, Io. Anlaby, Richard Darley, William Say, John Aldred, Jo. Nelthrop, **Esquires**; **Sir** William Roberts, Henry Smith, Edmund Wild, John Challoner, Iosias Barnes, Dennis Bond, Humphrey Edwards, Greg. Clement, Io. Fray, Tho. Wogan, **Esquires**; **Sir** Greg. Norton, Io. Bradshaw **Esq**; **Serjeant at Law**, Io. Dove **Esq**; John Fowk, Thomas Scot, **Aldermen**; Will. Cawley, Abraham Burrel, Roger Gratwick, John Downes, **Esquires**; Robert Nichols **Esq**; **Serjeant at Law**, Vincent Potter **Esq**; **Sir** Gilbert Pickering, Io. Weaver, Io.

Io. Lenthal, Robert Reynolds, Io. Lisle,
Nich. Love, Esquires; Sir Edw. Bainton,
Io. Corbet, Tho. Blunt, Tho. Boone, Aug.
Garland, Aug. Skinner, Io. Dickeswel, Simon
Meyne, Io. Brown, Io. Lewry, Esquires, &c.

John Bradshaw Esq; Serg. at Law, Lord Pre-
sident of the Court.

Councillors Assistant to the Court, and to draw
up the Charge against the King. Dr. Dorislaus,
Mr. Aske. Mr. Steel Attorney General, Mr. Cook
Sollicitor General, Mr. Broughton, Mr. Phelps,
Clerks to the Court.

Officers of the Court.

Sergeant Dandy Sergeant at Arms, and Mace-
bearer; Col. Humpreys Sword-bearer, Mr. King
Crier of the Court; Mr. Walford, Mr. Radley,
Mr. Pain, Mr. Powel, Mr. Hull, Messengers and
Dore-keepers with tip-staves

ON Saturday, being the twentieth day of January 1648. The Lord *Bradshaw* President of the High Court of Justice, with about seventy of the Members of the said Court, having Col. *Fox*, and sixteen Gentlemen with Partizans, and a Sword borne by Col. *Humphry*, and a Mace by Serj. *Dandy*, with their, and other Officers of the said Court marching before them, came to the place ordered to be prepared for their sitting, at the West end of the Great Hall in *Westminster*, where the Lord President in a Crimson Velvet Chair, fixed in the midst of the Court, placed himself, having a Desk with a Crimson Velvet Cushion before him; The rest of the Members placing themselves on each side of him upon the several Seats, or Benches, prepared and hung with Scarlet for that purpose, and the Partizans dividing themselves on each side of the Court before them.

The Court being thus set, and silence made, the great Gate of the said Hall was set open, to the end, That all persons, without exception, desirous to see, or hear, might come into it, upon which the Hall was presently filled, and Silence again ordered.

This done, Colonel *Thomlinson*, who had the charge of the King, as a Prisoner, was commanded to bring him to the Court, who within a quarter of an hours space brought him attended with about twenty Officers with Partizans marching before him, there being Col. *Hacker* and other Gentlemen, to whose care and custody he was likewise committed, marching in his Rear.

Being

King Charles the I.

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Being thus brought up within the face of the Court, The Serjeant at Arms, with his Mace, receives and conducts him streight to the Bar, where a Crimson Velvet Chair was set for the King. After a stern looking upon the Court, and the people in the Galleries on each side of him, he places himself, not at all moving his Hat, or otherwise shewing the least respect to the Court, but presently rises up again, and turns about, looking downwards upon the Guards placed on the left side, and on the multitude of Spectators on the right side of the said great Hall. After Silence made among the people, the Act of Parliament, for the Trying of *CHARLES STUART* King of England, was read over by the Clerk of the Court; who sat on one side of the Table covered with a rich Turkey Carpet, and placed at the feet of the said Lord President, upon which Table was also laid the Sword and Mace.

After reading the said Act, the several names of the Commissioners were called over, every one who was present, rising up, and answering to his Call.

The King having again placed himself in his Chair, with his face towards the Court, Silence being again ordered, the Lord President stood up and said

President. *CHARLES STUART*, King of England; The Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, being deeply sensible of the Calamities that have been brought upon this Nation, (which is fixed upon you, as the principal Author of it) have resolved to make inquisition for Blood, and according to that Debt and Duty they owe to Justice, to God, the Kingdome, and themselves,

and according to the Fundamental Power that rests in themselves, They have resolved to bring you to Trial and Judgment; and for that purpose have constituted this High Court of Justice, before which you are brought.

This said, *M. Cook* Solicitor General for the Common-wealth (standing within a Bar on the right hand of the King) offered to speak, but the King having a staff in his hand, held it up, and laid it upon the said *M. Cook's* shoulder two or three times, bidding him hold; Nevertheless, the Lord President ordering him to go on, he said:

Cook. My Lord, I am commanded to charge *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, in the name of Commons of *England*, with Treason and high Misdemeanors; I desire the said Charge may be read.

The said Charge being delivered to the Clerk of the Court, the Lord President ordered it should be read, but the King bid him hold; Nevertheless, being commanded by the Lord President to read it, the Clerk began.

The Charge of the Commons of *England* against *CHARLES STUART* King of *England*, of High Treason, and other High Crimes, exhibited to the High Court of Justice,

‘**T**Hat the said *Charles Stuart* being admitted
 ‘ King of *England*, and therein trusted with a
 ‘ Limited Power, to govern by, and according to
 ‘ the Laws of the Land, and not otherwise; And
 ‘ by

King Charles the I.

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‘ by his Truſt, Oath, and Office, being obliged to
‘ uſe the Power committed to him, For the good
‘ and benefit of the People, and for the preſervation
‘ of their Rights and Liberties; Yet nevertheless,
‘ out of a wicked deſign, to erect, and uphold in
‘ himſelf an unlimited and Tyrannical Power, to
‘ rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the
‘ Rights and Liberties of the People; Yea, to take
‘ away, and make void the Foundations thereof, and
‘ of all redreſs and remedy of miſgovernment,
‘ which by the fundamental Conſtitutions of this
‘ Kingdom, were reſerve on the peoples behalf, in
‘ the Right and Power of frequent and ſucceſſive
‘ Parliaments, or National meetings in Council;
‘ He, the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, for accompliſhment
‘ of ſuch his Deſigns, and for the proteſting of him-
‘ ſelf and his adherents, in His, and Their wicked
‘ practiſes, to the ſame Ends, hath Traiterouſly and
‘ maliciously levied War againſt the preſent Par-
‘ liament, and the people therein Reſented.

‘ Particularly, upon or about the thirtieth day of
‘ *June*, in the year of our Lord, One thouſand fix
‘ hundred forty and two, at *Beverley* in the County
‘ of *York*; And upon or about the thirtieth day of
‘ *July* in the year aforeſaid, in the County of the
‘ City of *York*; and upon, or about the twenty
‘ fourth day of *Auguſt*, in the ſame year, at the
‘ County of the Town of *Nottingham*, (when, and
‘ where he ſet up His Standard of War;) And up-
‘ on, or about the twenty third day of *October*, in
‘ the ſame year, at *Edg-Hill*, and *Keinton-field*, in
‘ the County of *Warwick*; And upon, or about the
‘ thirtieth day of *Nov.* in the ſame year, at *Brain-
‘ ford* in the County of *Middleſex*: And upon, or
‘ about the thirtieth day of *Aug.* in the year of our
‘ Lord

' Lord; One thousand six hundred forty and three,
 ' at *Cavesbam-bridge* near *Reding*, in the County of
 ' *Berks*; And upon, or about the thirtieth day of
 ' *October*, in the year last mentioned, at, or near the
 ' *City of Gloucester*; And upon, or about the thir-
 ' tieth day of *November*, in the year last mentioned,
 ' at *Newbery*, in the County of *Berks*; and upon, or
 ' about the one and thirtieth day of *July*, in the
 ' year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty
 ' and four, at *Cropley-bridge*, in the County of
 ' *Oxon*; And upon, or about the thirtieth day of
 ' *September*, in the last year mentioned, at *Bodmin*, and
 ' other places near adjacent, in the County of *Corn-*
 ' *wall*; And upon, or about the thirtieth day of *No-*
 ' *vember*, in the last year mentioned, at *Newbery* a-
 ' fore said: and upon, or about the eight of *June*,
 ' in the year of Lord, One thousand six hundred
 ' forty and five, at the Town of *Leicester*; and also
 ' upon the fourteenth day of the same moneth, in
 ' the same year, at *Naseby-field*, in the County of
 ' *Northampton*, at which several times and places,
 ' or most of them, and at many other places in this
 ' Land, at several other times, within the years a-
 ' fore mentioned: And in the year of our Lord,
 ' One thousand six hundred forty and six: He the said
 ' *C. Stuart*, hath caused and procured many thousands
 ' of the Free-people of the Nation to be slain; and
 ' by Divisions, parties, and Insurrections, within
 ' this Land, by Invasions from Foreign parts, en-
 ' deavoured and procured by Him, and by many o-
 ' ther evil wayes, and means; He the said *Charles*
 ' *Stuart*, hath not onely maintained and carried on
 ' the said War, both by Land and Sea, during the
 ' years before mentioned; but also hath renewed,
 ' or caused to be renewed, the said War against the
 Parliament,

‘Parliament, and good people of this Nation, in
‘this present year, One thousand six hundred forty
‘and eight, in the Counties of *Kent, Essex, Surrey,*
‘*Suffex, Middlesex,* and many other Counties and
‘places in *England and Wales,* and also by Sea: and
‘particularly, He the said *Charles Stuart,* hath for
‘that purpose, given Commission to his Son, the
‘Prince, and others; whereby, besides multitudes
‘of other persons, many such, as were by the Par-
‘liament intrusted and imployed for the safety of
‘the Nation, being by Him or His Agents, Cor-
‘rupted, to the betraying of Their Trust, and re-
‘volting from the Parliament, have had entertain-
‘ment and Commission, for the continuing and re-
‘newing of War and Hostility, against the said
‘Parliament and people, as aforesaid. By which
‘cruel and unnatural Wars by Him the said *Charles*
‘*Stuart,* levyed, continued, and renewed, as aforesaid, much Innocent Blood of the Free-people
‘of this Nation hath been spilt, many Families
‘have been undone, the publick Treasury wasted
‘and exhausted, Trade obstructed, and miserably
‘decayed; vast expence and damage to the Nation
‘incurred, and many parts of the Land spoyled,
‘some of them even to desolation.

‘And for further prosecution of his said evil
‘Designs, He, the said *Charles Stuart,* doth still conti-
‘nue his Commissions to the said Prince, and other
‘Rebels, and Revolvers, both English and For-
‘raigners, and to the Earl of *Ormond,* and to the
‘Irish Rebels and Revolvers associated with him:
‘from whom further Invasions upon this Land are
‘threatned upon the procurement, and on the be-
‘half of the said *Charles Stuart.*

‘All which wicked Designs, Wars, and evil pra-
‘ctises

The Tryal of

' Crimes of him, the said *Charles Stuart*, have been,
 ' and are carried on, for the advancing and uphold-
 ' ing of the personal Interest of Will and Power,
 ' and pretended prerogative to Himself and his
 ' family, against the publick Interest, Common
 ' Right, Liberry, Justice, and Peace of the people
 ' of this Nation, by, and for whom he was entrusted,
 ' as aforesaid.

' By all which it appeareth, that he, the said
 ' *Charles Stuart*, hath been, and is the Occasioner,
 ' Author, and Contriver of the said Unnatural,
 ' Cruel and Bloody Wars, and therein guilty of
 ' all the Treasons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings,
 ' Spoils, Desolations, Damage, and Mischief to this
 ' Nation, acted or committed in the said Wars, or
 ' occasioned thereby.

' And the said *John Cook*, by protestation (saying
 ' on the behalf of the people of *England*, the li-
 ' berty of exhibiting at any time hereafter, any o-
 ' ther Charge against the said *Charles Stuart*; and
 ' also of replying to the answers which the said *Ch.*
 ' *Stuart* shall make to the premises, or any of them,
 ' or any other Charge that shall be so Exhibited)
 ' doth for the said Treasons and Crimes, on the be-
 ' half of the said People of *England*, Impeach the
 ' said *Charles Stuart*, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murthe-
 ' rer, and a publick, and Implacable Enemy, to the
 ' Common-wealth of *England*: And pray, that the
 ' said *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, may be
 ' put to answer All, and Every the Premises;
 ' That such proceedings, Examinations, Trials,
 ' Sentence, and Judgment may be thereupon had, as
 ' shall be agreeable to Justice.

IT is observed, that the time the Charge was reading, the King sat down in his Chair, looking sometimes, on the Court, sometimes up to the Galleries, and having risen again, and turned about to behold the Guards and Spectators, sat down, looking very sternly with a countenance not at all moved, till these words, viz. *Charles Stuart* (to be a Tyrant and Traytor, &c.) were read, at which he laughed as he sat in the face of the Court.

Charge being read, the Lord President replied :
President. ‘ Sir, you have now heard your Charge
 ‘ read, containing such matters as appears in it ;
 ‘ you finde, That in the close of it, it is prayed
 ‘ to the Court, in the behalf of the *Commons* of
 ‘ *England*, that you answer to your Charge. The
 ‘ Court expects your Answer.

King. I would know by what power I am called
 hither : I was, not long ago, in the *Isle of Wight*,
 how I came there, is a longer story than I think is
 fit at this time for me to speak of ; but there I en-
 terred into a *Treaty* with both Houses of *Parliament*,
 with as much publick faith as ’tis possible to be had
 of any people in the world. I treated there with a
 number of Honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and
 treated honestly and uprightly ; I cannot say but
 they did very nobly with me, we were upon a con-
 clusion of the *Treaty*. Now I would know by what
 Authority, I mean, lawful ; there are many un-
 lawful Authorities in the world, Theeves and Rob-
 bers by the high wayes ; but I would know by what
 Authority I was brought from thence, and carried
 from place to place, (and I know not what) and
 when I know by what lawful Authority, I shall an-
 swer : Remember I am your King, and what sins
 you bring upon your heads, and the Judgment of
 God upon this Land, think well upon it, I say,
 think

think well upon it, before you go further from one
 first to a greater; therefore let me know by what
 lawful Authority I am seased here; and I shall not
 be unwilling to answer, in the mean time I shall
 not betray my Trust. I have a Trust committed to
 me by God; by old and lawful descent, I will not
 betray it to answer to a new unlawful Authority,
 therefore resolve me that, and you shall hear more
 of me.

President. 'If you had been pleased to have ob-
 served what was hinted to you, by the Court, at
 your first coming hither, you would have known
 by what Authority; which Authority requires
 you, in the name of the people of *England*, of
 which you are Elected King, to answer them.

King. No Sir, I deny that.

President. 'If you acknowledge not the Autho-
 rity of the Court, they must proceed.

King. I do tell them so, *England* was never an
 Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom for
 near these thousand years, therefore let me know
 by what Authority I am called hither: I do stand
 more for the Liberty of my People than any here,
 that come to be my pretended Judges: and there-
 fore let me know by what lawful Authority I
 am seased here, and I will answer it, otherwise I
 will not answer it.

President. 'Sir, how really you have managed
 your Trust, is known: your way of answer is to
 interrogate the Court, which be seems not you
 in this condition. You have been told of it twice,
 or thrice.

King. Here is a Gentleman, (*Lieur. Col. Cobber*)
 ask him, if he did not bring me from the *Isle*
of Wight by force? I do not come here as sub-
 mitting

mitting to the Court; I will stand as much for the privilege of the House of Commons, rightly understood, as any man here whatsoever. I see no House of Lords here that may constitute a Parliament, and (the King too) should have been. Is this the bringing of the King to his Parliament? Is this the bringing an end to the Treaty in the publick faith of the world? Let me see a legal Authority warranted by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or warranted by the Constitutions of the Kingdom, and I will answer.

President. 'Sir, You have propounded a Question, and have been answered: seeing you will not answer, the Court will consider how to proceed; in the meantime, those that brought you hither, are to take charge of you back again.

'The Court desires to know whether this be all the Answer you will give, or no.

King. Sir, I desire that you would give me, and all the world, satisfaction in this; let me tell you, it is not a slight thing you are about. I am sworn to keep the Peace by that duty I owe to God and my Country, and I will do it to the last breath of my body, and therefore you shall do well to satisfy first God, and then the Country, by what Authority you do it; if you do it by a usurped Authority, that will not last long. There is a God in Heaven that will call you, and all that give you power, to account: Satisfie me in that, and I will answer, otherwise I betray my Trust, and the Liberties of the People, and therefore think of that, and then I shall be willing. For I do avow, That it is as great a sin to withstand lawful Authority, as it is to submit to a Tyrannical, or any other wayes unlawful Authority; and therefore satisfy God, and me,
and

and all the World in that, and you shall receive my Answer: I am not afraid of the Bill.

President. 'The Court expects you should give them a final Answer, their purpose is to adjourn till Monday next, if you do not satisfie your self, though we do tell you our Authority; we are satisfied with our Authority, and it is upon Gods Authority and the Kingdoms, and that peace you speak of will be kept in the doing of Justice, and that's our present work.

King. Let me tell you, if you will shew me what lawful Authority you have, I shall be satisfied: But that you have hitherto said, satisfies no reasonable man.

President. 'That's in our apprehension: we think it reasonable that are your Judges.

King. 'Tis not my apprehension, nor yours neither, that ought to decide it.

President. 'The Court hath heard you, and you are to be disposed of as they have commanded.

Two things were remarkable in this days proceedings.

1. It is observed, That as the charge was reading against the King, the silver head of his staff fell off, the which he wondred at, and seeing none to take it up, he stoop'd for it himself, and put it in his pocket.

2. That as the King was going away, he looking with a very austere countenance upon the Court, without stirring of his Hat, replied, *Well Sir*, (when the *L. President* commanded the Guard to take him away) and at his going down, he said, *I do not fear that*, (pointing with his staff at the sword.) The people in the Hall, as he went down the stairs cryed out, some, *God save the King*, and some for *Justice*.

Oyes being called, the Court adjourned till Monday next, *January 21. at 9. in the morning. to the Painted Chamber, and from thence to the same place again in Westminster Hall.*

January 21. Being Sunday, the Commissioners kept a Fast at *White-hall*; there Preached Mr. Spigg, his Text was, *He that sheds Mans blood, by Man shall his blood be shed*: next Mr. Foxely, his Text, *Judge not, least you be judged*. Last was Mr. Peters, his Text was, *I will binde their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in fetters of Iron*.

At the High-Court of Justice sitting in Westminster-Hall, Monday, Jan. 22. 1648.

O Yes made: Silence commanded. The Court called, and answered to their names.

Silence commanded upon pain of imprisonment, and the Captain of the Guard to apprehend all such as make disturbance.

Upon the Kings coming in, a shout was made.

Command given by the Court to the Captain of the Guard, to fetch and take into his custody those who make any disturbance.

Mr. Solicitor. May it please your Lordship, my Lord President, I did at the last Court in the behalf of the Commons of *England*, exhibit and give into this Court a Charge of High Treason, and other high Crimes, against the Prisoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuse him in the name of the People of *England*, and the Charge was read unto him, and his Answer required. My Lord, he was not then pleased to give an Answer, but in stead of answering, did there dispute the Authority of this High Court. My humble Motion to this High Court, in behalf of the People of *England*, is, That

C

the

the Prisoner may be directed to make a positive Answer, either by way of Confession or Negation ; which if he shall refuse to do, that the matter of Charge may be taken *pro confesso*, and the Court may proceed according to justice.

President. Sir, You may remember at the last Court, you were told the occasion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge against you, containing a Charge of high Treason, and other high Crimes, against this Realm of *England* ; you heard likewise that it was prayed in the behalf of the People, that you should give an answer to that Charge, that thereupon such proceedings might be had ; at should be agreeable to justice ; you were then pleased to make some scruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and knew not by what Authority you were brought hither ; you did divers times propound your Questions, and were as often answered, that it was by Authority of the *Commons of England assembled in Parliament*, that did think fit to call you to account for those high and capital misdemeanours wherewith you were then charged. Since that, the Court hath taken into Consideration what you then said, they are fully satisfied with their own Authority, and they hold it fit you should stand satisfied with it too ; and they do require it, that you do give a positive and particular Answer to this Charge that is exhibited against you, they do expect you should either confess or deny it ; if you deny, it is offered in the behalf of the Nation to be made good against you ; their Authority they do avow to the whole world, that the whole Kingdome are to rest satisfied in, and you are to rest satisfied with it, and therefore you are to lose no more time, but to give a positive Answer thereunto.

King.

King. When I was here last, 'tis true, I made that Question, and truly if it were only my own particular case, I would have satisfied my self with the Protestation; I made the last time I was here against the legality of this Court, and that a King cannot be tryed by any Superiour Jurisdiction on Earth; but it is not my case alone, it is the Freedome and the Liberty of the people of England, and do you pretend what you will, I stand more for their Liberties. For if power without Law, may make Laws, may alter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdome, I do not know what Subject he is in England, that can be sure of his life, or any thing that he calls his own; therefore when that I came here, I did expect particular Reasons, to know by what Law, what Authority you did proceed against me here, and therefore I am a little to seek what to say to you in this particular, because the Affirmative is proved, the Negative often is very hard to do: but since I cannot perswade you to do it, I shall tell you my Reasons as short as I can.

My Reasons why in Conscience, and the duty I owe to God first, and my people next, for the preservation of their Lives, Liberties and Estates; I conceive I cannot answer this, till I be satisfied of the legality of it.

All proceedings against any man
Here the King whatsoever ———

would have
delivered his *President.* Sir, I must interrupt you,
Reasons. which I would not do, but that what

you do is not agreeable to the proceedings of any Court of Justice, you are about to enter into Argument, and dispute concerning the Authority of this Court, before whom you ap-

appear as a Prisoner, and are charged as an high Delinquent; if you take upon you to dispute the Authority of the Court, we may not do it, nor will any Court give way unto it, you are to submit unto it, you are to give in a punctuall and direct Answer, whether you will answer to your Charge or no, and what your Answer is.

King. Sir, by your favour, I do not know the forms of Law, I do know Law and Reason, though I am no Lawyer professed, yet I know as much of Law as any Gentleman in *England*; and therefore (under favour) I do plead for the Liberties of the People of *England* more then you do, and therefore if I should impose a belief upon any man without Reasons given for it, it were unreasonable; but I must tell you, That that Reason that I have as thus informed, I cannot yeild unto it.

President. Sir, I must interrupt you, you may not be permitted, you speak of Law and Reason, it is fit there should be Law and Reason, and there is both against you. Sir the Vote of the Commons of *England* Assembled in Parliament, it is the Reason of the Kingdome, and they are these too that have given that Law, according to which you should have ruled and reigned. Sir, you are not to dispute our Authority, you are told it again by the Court. Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you stand in contempt of the Court, and your contempt will be recorded accordingly.

King. I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent; not by any Law that ever I heard of, all men (Delinquents or what you will) let me tell you, they may put in Demurrers against any proceedings as legal, and I do demand that, and demand to be heard with my Reasons, if you deny that, you deny Reason.

Pre-

President. Sir, you have offered something to the Court, I shall speak something unto you the sense of the Court; Sir, neither you nor any man are permitted to dispute that point, you are concluded, you may not demur the Jurisdiction of the Court, if you do, I must let you know, that they over-rule your Demurrer, they sit here by the Authority of Commons of *England*, and all your Predecessors, and you are responsible to them.

King. 'I deny that, shew me one precedent—

President. Sir, you ought not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you, this point is not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to do it; if you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, they have considered of their Jurisdiction, they do affirm their own Jurisdiction.

King. 'I say Sir, by your favour, that the Commons of *England* was never a Court of Judicature, 'I would know how they came to be so.

President. Sir, you are not to be permitted to go on in that Speech, and these Discourses.

Then the Clerk of the Court read, as followeth,

Charles Stuart, *King of England*, You have been accused on the behalf of the People of *England* of High Treason, and other high Crimes, the Court have determined, that you ought to answer the same.

King. 'I will answer the same as soon as I know by what Authority you do this.

President. If this be all that you will say, then, Gentlemen, you that brought the Prisoner hither, take charge of him back again.

King. 'I do require that I may give in my Reasons

' sons why I do not Answer, and give me time for
' that.

President. Sir, 'Tis not for Prisoners to require.

King. ' Prisoners ? Sir, I am not an ordinaay
' Prisoner.

President. The Court hath considered of their Jurisdiction, and they have already affirmed their Jurisdiction ; if you will not answer, we shall give order to record your default.

King. ' You never heard my Reasons yet.

President. Sir, your Reasons are not to be heard against the highest Jurisdiction.

King. ' Shew me that Jurisdiction, where Reason
' is not to be heard.

President. Sir, We shew it you here, the Commons of *England* ; and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleasure of the Court, and it may be, their finall determination.

King. ' Shew me wherever the House of Commons was a Court of Judicature of that kinde.

President. Serjeant take away the Prisoner.

King. ' Well Sir, remember that the King is not
' suffered to give his Reasons for the Liberty and
' Freedom of all his Subjects.

President. Sir, You are not to have liberty to use this language ; how great a friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the people, let all *England*, and the World judge.

King. ' Sir, under favour, it was the Liberty,
' Freedome, and Laws of the Subject that ever I
' took——defended my selfe with Arms, I never
' took up Arms against the People, but for my People and the Laws.

President. The command of the Court must be obeyed

obeyed; no answer will be given to the Charge.

King. 'Well Sir.

Then the Lord President ordered the default to be recorded, and the contempt of the Court, and that no answer would be given to the Charge.

And so was guarded forth to Sir Robert Cotton's house.

Then the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber on Tuesday at twelve a clock, and from thence they intend to adjourn to Westminster Hall, at which time all persons concerned are to give their attendance.

Resolutions of the Court at their Meeting in the Painted Chamber.

Luna Jan. 22. 1648.

THIS day the King being withdrawn from the Bar of the High Court of Justice, the Commissioners of the said High Court of Justice sate private in the Painted Chamber, and considered of the Kings carriage upon the *Saturday* before, and of all that had then passed, and fully approved of what the Lord President had done and said in the managing of the businesse of that day, as agreeing to their sense. And perceiving what the King aimed at, *viz.* to bring in question (if he could) the Jurisdiction of the Court, and the Authority thereof, whereby they sate; and considering that in the interim he had not acknowledged them in any sort to be a Court, or his Judges; and through their sides intended to wound (if he might be permitted) the Supreme Authority of the Commons of *England*, in their Representative the Commons assembled in

Parliament, after advice with their Councell, learned in both Laws, and mature deliberation had of the matter.

Resolved, That the King should not be suffered to argue the Courts Jurisdiction, or that which constituted them a Court, of which debate they had not proper Consuance, nor could they, being a derivative Judge of that Supreme Court which made them Judges, from which there was no appeal, and did therefore order and direct, *viz.*

Ordered, that in case the King shall again offer to dispute the Authority of the Court, the *Lord President* do let him know, that the Court have taken into consideration his demands of the last day, and that he ought to rest satisfied with this Answer; That the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament, have constituted this Court, whose Power may not, nor should be permitted to be disputed by him.

That in case the King shall refuse to answer or acknowledge the Court, the *Lord President* do let him know that the Court will take it as a contumacy, and that it shall be so Recorded.

That in case he shall offer or answer with a *saving*, notwithstanding of his pretended Prerogative, above the jurisdiction of the Court, That the *Lord President* do in the name of the Court refuse his protest, and require his positive Answer, whether he will own the Court or not.

That in case the King shall demand a Copy of the Charge, that he shall then declare his intention to Answer, and that declaring his intention, a Copy be granted unto him.

That in case the King shall still persist in his contempt, the *Lord President* do give command to the

the Clerk, to demand of the King, in the name of the Court, in these words following, viz.

Charles Stuart King of *England*, you are accused in the behalf of the People of *England*, of divers high Crimes and Treasons, which Charge hath been read unto you. The Court requires you to give a positive Answer, to confesse or deny the Charge, having determined that you ought to Answer the same.

At the High Court of Justice sitting in Westminster Hall, Tuesday, Jan. 23. 1648.

O Yes made. Silence commanded. The Court called. Seventy three persons present.

The King comes in with his Guard, looks with an aultere countenance upon the Court, and sits down.

The second O Yes made, and silence commanded.

Mr. Cook Solicitor General. May it please your Lordship, my Lord President,

This is now the third time that by the great grace and favour of this High Court, the Prisoner hath been brought to the Bar, before any issue joynd in the Cause. My Lord, I did at the first Court exhibit a Charge against him, containing the highest Treason that ever was wrought upon the Theatre of *England*: that a King of *England*, trusted to keep the Law, That had taken an Oath so to do, That had Tribute paid him for that end, should be guilty of a wicked design, to subvert and destroy our Lawes, and introduce an Arbitrary, and Tyrannical Govern-

Government, in the defence of the Parliament and their Authority, set up his Standard for War against his Parliament and People, and I did humbly pray, in the behalf of the people of *England*; that he might speedily be required to make an Answer to the Charge.

But my Lord, in stead of making any Answer, he did then dispute the Authority of this High Court, your Lordship was pleased to give him a further day to consider, and to put in his Answer, which day being yesterday, I did humbly move, that he might be required to give a direct and positive Answer, either by denying, or confession of it; but (my Lord) he was then pleased for to demur to the jurisdiction of the Court, which the Court did then overrule, and command him to give a direct and positive Answer. My Lord, besides this great delay of justice, I shall now humbly move your Lordship for speedy judgement against him. My Lord, I might presse your Lordship upon the whole; That according to the known Rules of the Law of the Land, That if a Prisoner shall stand as contumacious in contempt, and shall not put in an issuable plea, Guilty or not Guilty of the Charge given against him, whereby he may come to a fair Tryall; That as by an implicate confession, it may be taken *pro confesso*, as it hath been done to those who have deserved more favour than the prisoner at the Bar has done: but besides, my Lord, I shall humbly presse your Lordship upon the whole Fact; The House of Commons, the Supreme Authority and jurisdiction of the Kingdome, they have declared, That it is notorious, That the matter of the Charge is true, as it is in truth (my Lord) as clear as Chrystal, and as the Sun that shines at noon day; which if your
Lord-

Lordship and the Court be not satisfied in, I have notwithstanding, on the people of *England* behalf, severall witnesses to produce: And therefore I do humbly pray, and yet I must confesse it is not so much I, as the innocent blood that hath been shed, the cry whereof is very great for justice and judgement, and therefore I do humbly pray, that speedy *Judgement* be pronounced against the prisoner at the Bar.

President. Sir, you have heard what is moved by the Councel, on the behalf of the Kingdome against you. Sir, you may well remember, and if you do not, the Court cannot forget, what delatory dealings the Court hath found at your hands, you were pleased to propound some Questions, you have had your Resolutions upon them. You were told over and over again, That the Court did affirm their own jurisdiction: That it was not for you, nor any other man, to dispute the *Jurisdiction of the Supreme and highest Authority of England*, from which there is no appeal, and touching which there must be no dispute; yet you did persist in such carriage, as you gave no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the *High Courts*, that constituted this Court of Justice.

Sir, I must let you know from the Court, That they are very sensible of these delayes of yours, and that they ought not, being thus Authorized by the *supreme Court of England*, to be thus trifled withall, and that they might in justice, if they pleased, and according to the Rules of justice, take advantage of these delayes, and proceed to pronounce judgement against you; yet nevertheless they are pleased to give direction, and on their behalfs I do require you, that you make a positive Answer unto

this

this Charge that is against you : Sir, in plain terms, for Iustice knows no respect of persons, you are to give your positive and finall Answer in plain English, whether you be guilty or not guilty of these Treasons laid to your Charge.

The King after a little pause, said,

‘When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the *Liberties of the People of England* ; I was interrupted : I desire to know yet whether I may speak freely or not.

President. Sir you have had the Resolution of the Court upon the like Question the last day, and you were told, That having such a Charge of so high a Nature against you, and your Work was, that you ought to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court; *And to Answer to your Charge.* Sir, if you Answer to your Charge, which the Court gives you leave now to do, though they might have taken the advantage of your Contempt, yet if you be able to Answer to your Charge, when you have once Answered, you shall be heard at large, make the best Defence you can. But Sir, I must let you know from the Court, as their commands, that you are not to be permitted to issue out into any other discourses, till such time as you have given a positive Answer concerning the *Matter* that is *Charged* upon you.

King. ‘For the *Charge* I value it not a Rush, it is the *Liberty of the People of England* that I stand for ; for me to acknowledge a new *Court*, that I never heard of before, I that am your King, that should be an example to all the people of *England*, for to uphold Iustice, to maintain the old *Laws* ; indeed I do not know how to do it ; you spoke very well the first day that I came here, (on Saturday day)

‘ day) of the Obligations that I had laid upon me
‘ by God, to the maintenance of *the Liberties of my*
‘ *People*: The same Obligation you spake of, I do
‘ acknowledge to God that I owe to Him, and to
‘ my People, to defend, as much as in me lies, the
‘ ancient Laws of the Kingdome, therefore untill
‘ that I may know that this is not against the *Fun-*
‘ *damental Laws* of the Kingdome, by your favour,
‘ I can put in no particular Answer: If you will give
‘ me time, I will then shew you my Reasons why
‘ I cannot do it, and this —————

Here being interrupted, he said,
‘ By your favour, you ought not to interrupt me,
‘ how I came here, I know not, there’s no Law for
‘ it, to make your King your Prisoner: I was late-
‘ ly in a Treaty upon the publick Faith of the King-
‘ dome, that was the known ————— the two Hou-
‘ ses of Parliament, that was the Representative of
‘ the Kingdome, and when that I had almost made
‘ an end of the Treaty, then I was hurried away and
‘ brought hither, and therefore —————

Here the *President* interrupted him and said, Sir,
you must know the pleasure of the Court.

King. By your favour Sir, —————

President. Nay Sir, by your favour, you may not
be permitted to fall into these discourses; you ap-
pear as a Delinquent; you have not acknowledged
the Authority of the Court, the Court craves it not
of you, and once more they command you to give
your positive Answer ————— *Clerk*. Do your
Duty.

King. Duty Sir! —————

The

The Clerk reads,

Charles Stuart, King of England, you are accused in the behalf of the Commons of England, of divers high Crimes and Treasons, which Charge hath been read unto you; the Court now requires you to give your positive and finall Answer, by way of confession, or denial of the Charge.

King. 'Sir, I say again to you, so that I might give satisfaction to the People of England, of the cleareness of my proceeding, not by way of Answer, nor in this way, but to satisfie them that I have done nothing against that Trust that hath been committed to me, I would do it; but to acknowledge a new Court against their Priviledges, to alter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdome; Sir, you must excuse me.

President. Sir, this is the third time that you have publicly disowned the Court, and put an affront upon it; how far you have preserv'd Priviledges of the People, your Actions have spoke it; but truly Sir, mens intentions ought to be known by their Actions, you have written your meaning in bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdome; but Sir, you understand the pleasure of the Court, Clerk Record the default, and Gentlemen, you that took charge of the Prisoner, take him back again.

King. 'I will onely say this one word to you, if it were only My own particular, I would not say any more, nor interrupt you.

President. Sir, you have heard the pleasure of the Court,

Court, and you are (notwithstanding you will not understand it) to finde that you are before a Court of Iustice.

Then the King went forth with his Guard, and Proclamation was made, That all persons who had then appeared, and had further to do at the Court, might depart into the Painted Chamber, to which place the Court did forthwith adjourn, and intended to meet in *Westminster Hall* by ten of the clock the next morning.

Gryer. God blesse the Kingdome of England.

Wednesday, January 24. 1648.

THis day it was expected the *High Court of Justice* would have met in *Westminster Hall* about ten of the clock; but at the time appointed, one of the Ushers by direction of the Court (then sitting in the *Painted Chamber*) gave notice to the people there assembled, That in regard the Court was then upon the examination of Witnesses in relation to present affairs, in the *Painted Chamber*, they could not sit there; but all persons appointed to be there, were to appear upon further Summons.

His Majesties Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice, which He intended to have delivered in writing on Monday, Jan. 22. 1648. but was not permitted.

HAVING already made My protestations, not only against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no Earthly power can justly call Me (who am your King) in question as a Delinquent;

linguent; I would not any more open My mouth upon this occasion, more than to refer My selfe to what I have spoken, were I in this case alone concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true liberty of My people, will not suffer me at this time to be silent. For, how can any free-born Subject of England, call Life, or any thing he possesseth, his own; if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamentall Law of the Land? which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore, when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied Me, concerning these grounds which hinder me to answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge Me, nor indeed the meanest man in England; for, I will not (like you) without shewing a Reason, seek to impose a belief upon My Subjects.

* Hereabout
the King was
swept, and not
sufficed to speak
any more con-
cerning Reason.

There is no proceeding just against any Man, but what is warranted either by Gods Laws, or the municipal Laws of the Countrey where he lives. Now I am most confident, this dayes proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law, for on the contrary, the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted, and strictly commanded both in the Old and New, Testament; which if depied, I am ready instantly to prove: and for the question now in hand, there it is said, That where the word of a King is there is power, and who may say unto him, what dost thou? Eccl. 8. 4. Then for the Law of this Land, I am

King Charles the I.

I

no lesse confident that no learned Lawyer will affirm, that an impeachment can lie against the King, they all going in His Name ; and one of their Maximes is, *That the King can do no wrong*. Besides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old or new : if old, shew it ; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Iudicature, which was never one it self (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge : And it were full as strange that they should pretend to make Lawes without King or Lords House, to any that have heard speak of the Lawes of *England*.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of *England* Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that ; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man in the Kingdome ; and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Plough-man, if you demand not his free consent ; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission without the consent, at least of the major part of every man in *England*, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek ; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for My own right alone, as I am your King, but also for the true liberty of all My Subjects, which consists not in the power of Government, but in living under such Lawes, such a Government, as may give themselves the best assurance of their Lives, and propriety of their Goods. Nor in this must or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houses of Parliament, which this dayes pro-

ceedings do not onely violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their publick Faith that (I believe ever was heard of; with which I am far from charging the two Houses: for all the pretended crimes laid against Me, bear date long before this late Treary at *Newport*, in which I having concluded, as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, & hurried from thence as a Prisoner upon which account I am against My will brought hither; where since I am come, I cannot but to my power defend the ancient Lawes and Liberties of this Kingdome, together with my own just right. Then, for any thing I can see, the higher House is totally excluded. And for the House of Commons, it is too well known, that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting; so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for Me to protest against the lawfulnessse of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the peace of the Kingdome is not the least in My thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there, so long as Power reigns without rule or Law, changing the whole frame of that Government, under which this Kingdome hath flourished for many hundred years, (nor will I say what will fall out, in case this lawlesse unjust proceeding against Me do go on) and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late yeares, under the reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, the King My Father, and My Self, untill the beginning of these unhappy Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Armes I took up, were
only

King Charles the I.

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only to defend the fundamentall Laws of this Kingdome, against those who have supposed My power hath totally changed the ancient Govern-
ment.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority, without violating the trust which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of My people; I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince My judgement, shewing Me that I am in an Error (and then truly I will answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

¶ *This I intended to speak in Westminster-Hall on Monday, January 22. but against Reason was hindered.*

The Proceedings of the High Court of Justice sitting in Westminster-Hall, on Saturday the 27. of January, 1648.

O Yes made. Silence commanded. The Court called, Sarjeant Bradshaw, Lord President, in his Scarlet Robe (suitable to the work of this day) with 68 other Members of the Court called. As the King came into the Court, in his usuall posture with his Hat on, a cry made in the Hall by some of the Soldiers for *Justice, Justice and Execution.*

King. 'I shall desire a word to be heard a little, and I hope I shall give no occasion of interruption.

President. You may answer in your time, hear the Court first.

The Tryal of

King. 'If it please you, Sir, I desire to be heard,
'and I shall not give any occasion of interruption,
'and it is only in a word, a sudden Judgement.—

President. You shall be heard in due time, but
you are to hear the Court first.

King. 'Sir I desire it, it will be in order to what
'I believe the Court will say; and therefore Sir, a
'hasty Judgement is not so soon recalled.

Pres. Sir, you shall be heard before the Judge-
ment be given, and in the mean time you may for-
bear.

King. 'Well Sir, shall I be heard before the
'Judgement be given?

President. Gentlemen, it is well known to all, or
most of you here present, That the Prisoner at the
Bar hath been several times convented and brought
before the Court to make Answer to a Charge of
Treason and other high Crimes exhibited against
him in the name of the People of

*Here an honorable
lady interrupted
the Court, (saying
not halfe the Peo-
ple) but she was
soon silenced.*

* *England*; to which Charge, be-
ing required to Answer, he hath
been so far from obeying the Com-
mands of the Court, by submitting
to their Justice, as he began to take
upon him to offer reasoning and debate unto the
Authority of the Court, and of the highest Court
that constituted them to try and judge him; but
being over-ruled in that, and required to make his
Answer, he was still pleased to continue contuma-
cious, and to refuse to submit or Answer: Here-
upon the Court, that they may not be wanting to
themselves, to the trust reposed in them, nor that
any mans willfulness prevent justice, they have
thought fit to take the matter into their considera-
tion; They have considered of the contumacy, and
of

King Charles the I.

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of that confession, which in Law doth arise upon that contumacy; They have likewise considered of the notoriety of the Fact charged upon the prisoner, and upon the whole matter they are resolved; and have agreed upon a Sentence to be now pronounced against this prisoner: but in respect he doth desire to be heard before the Sentence be read and pronounced, the Court hath resolved that they will hear him; yet Sir, thus much I must tell you before-hand, which you have been minded of at other Courts; that if that you have to say be to offer any debate concerning jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it, you have offered it formerly, and you have indeed struck at the root, that is, the power and *Supreme Authority of the Commons of England*; which this Court will not admit a debate of, and which indeed is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them, that they should presume to judge upon their Superiorty, from whom there's no Appeal. But Sir, if you have any thing to say in defence of your selfe concerning the matters charged, the Court hath given me command to let you know they will hear you.

King. 'Since that I see that you will not hear
'any thing of debate concerning that which I con-
'fesse I thought most material for the peace of the
'Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subject,
'I shall wave it, I shall speak nothing to it; but
'openly I must tell you, That this many a day all
'things have been taken away from me, but that,
'that I call more dear to me then my Life, which
'is, *My Conscience and my Honour*; and if I had re-
'spect to my life more then the Peace of the King-
'dom, the *Liberty of the Subject*, certainly I should
have

I The Tryal of

I have made a particular defence for my self; for by
 that at least-wise I might have delayed an ugly
 Sentence, which I believe will passe upon me;
 Therefore certainly Sir, as a Man that hath some
 understanding, some knowledge of the world, if
 that my true zeal to my Countrey had not over-
 born the care that I have of my own preservation,
 I should have gone another way to work then that
 I have done: Now Sir, I conceive that an hasty
 Sentence once past, may be sooner repented then
 recalled: and truly the selfe-same desire that I
 have for the *Peace of the Kingdome, and the Liberty*
 of the Subject, more then my own particular, does
 make me now at last desire, That having some-
 thing for to say that concerns both, I desire before
 Sentence be given, that I may be heard in the
 Painted Chamber before the Lords and Com-
 mons, this delay cannot be prejudicial to you;
 whatsoever I say, if that I say no Reason, those that
 hear me must be Judges, I cannot be Judge of that
 that I have; if it be Reason, and really for the wel-
 fare of the *Kingdome, and the Liberty of the Subject,*
 I am sure on it very well it is worth the hearing;
 Therefore I do conjure you, as you love that you
 pretend, I hope it is real, the *Liberty of the Sub-*
ject, the Peace of the Kingdome; that you will grant
 Me the hearing, before any Sentence be passed, I
 only desire this, that you will take this into your
 consideration, it may be you have not heard of it
 before-hand, if you will, I'll retire, and you
 may think of it: but if I cannot get this *Liberty,* I
 do here protest, that so fair shews of *Liberty and*
Peace are pure shews, and not otherwise, then that
 you will not hear your KING.

President.

King Charles the I.

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President. Sir, You have now spoken?

King. ' Yes Sir.

President. And this that you have said is a further declining of the *Jurisdiction of this Court*, which was the thing wherein you were limited before.

King. ' Pray excuse me Sir, for my interruption, because you mistake me, it is not a declining of it, you do judge me before you hear me speak, I say it will not, I do not decline it, though I cannot acknowledge the *Jurisdiction of the Court*, yet Sir, in this give Me leave to say, I would do it, though I did not acknowledge it in this, I do protest it is not the declining of it, since I say, if that I do say any thing but that that is for the Peace of the *Kingdome, and the Liberties of the Subject*, then the shame is mine. Now I desire, that you will take this into your consideration, if you will, I'll withdraw.

President. Sir, this is not altogether new that you have moved unto us, not altogether new to us, though the first time in person you have offered it to the Court: Sir, you say you do not Decline the *Jurisdiction of the Court*.

King. ' Not in this that I have said.

President. I understand you well Sir, but nevertheless that which you have offered, seems to be contrary to that saying of yours; for the Court are ready to give a Sentence: it is not as you say, *That they will not hear your King*, for they have been ready to hear you, they have patiently waited your pleasure, for three Courts together, to hear what you would say to the Peoples Charge against you, to which you have not vouchsafed to give any answer at all; Sir, This tends to a further delay: Truly Sir, such delays as these, neither may the King-

dome, nor Justice well bear; You have had three several dayes to have offered in this kinde what you would have pleased; This Court is founded upon that *Authority of the Commons of England, in whom rests the Supreme Jurisdiction*; That which you now tender, is to have another Jurisdiction, and a *co-ordinate Jurisdiction*, I know very well you expresse your selfe. Sir, That notwithstanding that you would offer to the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, yet neverthelesse you would proceed on here, I did hear you say so; but Sir, that you would offer there, what ever it is must needs be in delay, of the Justice here, so as if this Court be resolved, and prepared for the Sentence, this that you offer they are not bound in justice to grant; but Sir, according to that you seem to desire, and because you shall know the further pleasure of the Court upon that which you have moved the Court will withdraw for a time.

King. 'Shall I withdraw?

President. Sir, you shall know the pleasure of the Court presently, the Court withdraws for half an houre into the *Court of Wards*.

Serjeant at Armes, the Court gives command that the Prisoner be withdrawn, and they give order for his return again.

The Court withdraws for half an houre and returns.

President. Serjeant at Arms, send for your Prisoner.

Sir, You were pleased to make a motion here to the Court, to offer a desire of yours touching the propounding of somewhat to the Lords in the Painted Chamber for the Peace of the Kingdome: Sir, you did in effect receive an answer before the Court

King Charles the I.

9

Court adjourned; Truly Sir, their withdrawing and adjournment was *pro forma tantum*, for it did not seem to them that there was any difficulty in the thing; they have considered of what you have moved, and have considered of their own Authority, which is founded, as hath been often said, upon the *Supreme Authority of the Commons of England assembled in Parliament*. The Court acts accordingly to their Commission: Sir, the return I have to you from the Court, is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, and this that you now offer hath occasioned some little further delay, and they are JUDGES appointed by the highest JUDGES, and Judges are no more to delay, then they are to deny justice, they are good words in the old Charter of England: *Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli deferemus justitiam*. There must be no delay; but the truth is, Sir, and so every man here observes it, That you have much delayed them in your contempt and default, for which they might have long since proceeded to judgement against you, and notwithstanding what you have offered, they are resolved to proceed to punishment, and to judgement, and that is their unanimous resolution.

King. ' Sir, I know it is in vain for me to dispute, ' I am no *Sceptick* for to deny the power that you ' have, I know that you have power enough; Sir, I ' confesse, I think it would have been for the King- ' domes peace, if you would have taken the pains ' for to have shown the lawfulness of your power, ' for this delay that I have desired, I confesse it is a ' delay, but it is a delay very important for the ' peace of the Kingdome, for it is not my person ' that I look on alone, it is the Kingdomes wel-fare, ' and

The Tryal of

‘and the Kingdomes peace, it is an old sentence,
 ‘*That we should think on long, before we have resolved*
 ‘*of great matters suddenly*; Therefore, Sir, I do say
 ‘again, that I do put at your doors all the incon-
 ‘veniency of an hasty Sentence; I confesse, I have
 ‘been here now I think this week; this day eight
 ‘dayes, was the day I came here first, but a little
 ‘delay of a day or two further, may give peace,
 ‘whereas an *Hasty Judgement* may bring on that
 ‘trouble and perpetual inconveniency to the King-
 ‘dome, that the child that is unborn may repent
 ‘it; and therefore again, out of the Duty I owe to
 ‘God, and to my Country, I do desire that I may
 ‘be heard by the Lords and Commons in the *Pain-
 ‘ted Chamber*, or any other Chamber that you will
 ‘appoint me.

President. Sir you have been already answered to
 what you even now moved, being the same you
 moved before, since the Resolution and the Judge-
 ment of the Court in it, and the Court now requires
 to know whether you have any more to say for
 your self, then you have said, before they proceed
 to Sentence.

King. ‘I say this Sir, That if you will hear me, if
 ‘you will give me but this delay, I doubt not but
 ‘I shall give some satisfaction to you all here, and
 ‘to my People after that, and therefore I do require
 ‘you, as you will answer it at the dreadfull day of
 ‘judgement, that you will consider it once again.

President. Sir, I have received direction from the
 Court.

King. ‘Well Sir.

President. If this must be re-enforc’d, or any
 thing of this nature, your answer must be the same,
 and they will proceed to Sentence if you have no-
 thing more to say.

King.

King: I have nothing more to say, but I shall desire that this may be entered what I have said.

President. The Court then Sir, hath something to say unto you, which although I know it will be very unacceptable, yet notwithstanding they are willing, and are resolved to discharge their Duty.

Sir, you speak very well of a precious thing that you call Peace, and it had been much to be wished that God had put it into your heart, that you had as effectually and really endeavoured and studied the Peace of the Kingdome, as now in words you seem to pretend: but as you were told the other day, *Actions must expound Intentions*; yet Actions have been clean contrary, and truly Sir, it doth appear plainly enough to them, that you have gone upon very erroneous principles, the Kingdome hath felt it to their smart, and it will be no ease to you to think of it, for Sir, you have held your selfe, and let fall such Language, as if you had been no wayes subject to the Law, or that the Law had not been your Superiour. Sir, the Court is very well sensible of it, and I hope so are all the understanding People of England, *That the Law is your Superiour*. That you ought to have ruled according to the Law, you ought to have done so Sir, I know very well your pretence hath been that you have done so, but Sir, the difference hath been who shall be the *Expounders of this Law*; Sir, whether you and your party out of Courts of Justice, shall take upon them to expound Law, or the *Courts of Justice*, who are the *Expounders*; nay, the Sovereign and the *High Court of Justice*, the *Parliament of England*, who are not only the *highest Expounders*, but the *sole makers of the Law*. Sir, for you to set your self with your single judgement, and those that adhere unto you, against
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the highest Court of Justice, that is not Law: Sir, as the Law is your superior, so truly Sir, there is something that is superior to the Law, and that is indeed the *Parent or Author* of the Law, and that is *the People of England*. For Sir, as they are those that at the first, (as other Countries have done) did chuse to themselves the *Form of Government*, even for justice sake, that justice might be administred, that peace might be preserved; so Sir, they gave Laws to their Governors, according to which they should govern; and if those Laws should have proved inconvenient, or prejudicial to the publick, they had a power in them, and reserved to themselves, to alter as they shall see cause. Sir, it is very true, what some of your side have said, *Rex non habet parem in Regno*; This Court will say the same, while King, *That you have not your Peer* in some sense, for you are *Major singulis*, but they will aver again, that you are *Minor universis*; and the same Author tells you, that *in exhibitione juris*, there you have no power, but in *quasi minimus*,

This we know to be Law, *Rex habet superiorem, Deum & Legem, etiam & Curiam*, and so saies the same Author; and truly, Sir, he makes bold to go a little further, *Debent ei ponere fraxum*, *They ought to bridle him*, and sir, we know very well the stories of old, Those Wars that were called the *Barons Wars*, when the Nobility of the Land did stand out for the liberty and property of the Subject, and would not suffer the Kings that did invade to play the Tyrants freer, but called them to accompt for it, we know that truth, That they did *fraxum ponere*: But sir, if they do forbear to do their duty now, and are not so mindfull of their own Honor, and the King-
doms

doms good, as the *Barons* of *England* will not be unmindfull of what is for their preservation, and for their safety, *Justitia fruenti causa Reges constanti sunt*. This we learn the end of having Kings, or any other *Governors*, it's for the enjoying of Justice, that's the end. Now Sir, if so be the King will go contrary to the end of his Government; Sir, he must understand that he is but an Officer of trust, and he ought to discharge that Trust, and they are to take order for the animadversion and punishment of such an offending Governor.

This is not Law of yesterday Sir, (since the time of the division betwixt you and your People,) but it is Law of old; And we know very well the *Authors* and *Authorities* that do tell us what the Law was in that point upon the Election of Kings, upon the *Oath* that they took unto their People, and if they did not observe it, there were those things called *Parliaments*; The *Parliaments* were they that were to adjudge (the very words of the *Author*) *the plaints and wrongs done of the King and Queen, or their Children, such wrong especially, when the People could have no where else any remedy*. Sir, that hath been the People of *Englands* case, they could not have their remedy elsewhere but in *Parliament*.

Sir, *Parliaments* were ordained for that purpose, to redresse the grievances of the People, that was their main end; and truly Sir, if so be that the Kings of *England* had been rightly mindfull of themselves, they were never more in *Majesty* and *State* then in the *Parliament*: but how forgetfull some have been, *Stories* have told us; We have a miserable, a lamentable, a sad experience of it, Sir, by the old Laws of *England*, I speak these things the rather to you, because you were pleased to let fall the

the other day, you thought you had as much knowledge in the Law, as most Gentlemen in *England*, it is very well Sir. And truly Sir, it is very good for the Gentlemen of *England* to understand that Law under which they must live, and by which they must be governed. And then Sir, the *Scripture* says, *They that know their Masters will and do it not*, what follows. The Law is your Master, the Acts of *Parliament*.

The *Parliaments* were to be kept antiently, we finde in our *author* twice in the year, *That the Subject upon any occasion, might have a ready remedy and redresse for his Grievance*. Afterwards, by several Acts of *Parliament* in the dayes of your Predecessor *Edward the third*, they must have been once a year. Sir what intermission of *PARLIAMENTS* hath been in your time, it is very well known, and the sad consequences of it, and what in the interim instead of these *Parliaments*, hath been by you by an high and *Arbitrary* hand introduced upon the People, that likewise hath been too well known and felt. But when God by his Providence had so brought it about, that you could no longer decline the calling of a *Parliament*. Sir, yet it will appeare what your ends were against the *Anient*, and your *Native Kingdome of Scotland*: The *Parliament of England*, not serving your ends against them, you were pleased to dissolve it. Another great necessity occasioned the calling of this *Parliament*, and what your designs and plots and indeavours all along have been for the ruining and confounding of this *Parliament*, hath been very notorious to the whole *Kingdome*; And truly Sir, in that you did strike at all; that had been a sure way to have brought about that, that this laies upon you,

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Your Intention to Subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land. For the great bulwark of Liberty of the People, in the PARLIAMENT of England; and to Subvert and Root up that, which your aim hath been to do, certainly at one blow you had confounded the Liberties and the propriety of England.

Truly Sir, it makes me call to minde, I cannot forbear to expresse it, for Sir, we must deal plainly with you, according to the merits of your cause, so is our Commission, it makes me call to minde (these proceedings of yours) that we read of a great *Roman Emperor*, by the way let us call him a great *Roman Tyrant*, Caligula, *that wist that the People of Rome had had but one neck, that at one blow he might cut it off*: and your proceedings hath been somewhat like to this, for the body of the people of *England* hath been (and where else) represented but in the Parliament, and could you have but confounded that, you had at one blow cut off the neck of *England*: but God hath reserved better things for us, and hath pleased for to Confound your designs, and to break your Forces, and to bring your Person into Custody, that you might be responsible to Justice.

Sir, we know very well, That it is a question on your side very much prest, *by what Precedent we shall proceed?* Truly Sir, for *Precedents*, I shall not upon these occasions institute any long discourse, but it is no new thing to cite *Precedents* almost of all *Nations*, where the people (when power hath been in their hands) have been made bold to call their Kings to account, and where the change of Government hath upon occasion of the *Tyranny and Mis-government* of those that have been placed over them;

them; I will not spend time to mention *France*, or *Spain*, or the Empire, or other Countries, Volumes may be written of them. But truly Sir, that of the Kingdome of *Arragon*, I shall think some of us have thought upon it, when they have the justice of *Arragon*, that is a man *tanquam in medio positus*, betwixt the King of *Spain*, and the people of the Country, that if wrong be done by the King, he that is the King of *Arragon*, the Justice hath power to reform the wrong, and he is acknowledged to be the Kings Superior, and is the grand preserver of their priviledges, and hath prosecuted Kings upon their miscarriages.

Sir, What the Tribunes of *Rome* were heretofore, and what the *Ephory* were to the *Lacedæmonian State*, we know that is the Parliament of *England* to the *English State*; and though *Rome* seem to have lost its liberty when once the Emperours were, yet you shall finde some famous Acts of Justice even done by the Senate of *Rome*, that great Tyrant of his time, *Nero*, condemned and judged by the Senate. But truly Sir, to you I should not mention these Forreign examples and stories. If you look but over *Tweed*, we finde enough in your native Kingdome of *Scotland*. If we look to your first King *Fergusus*: that your stories make mention of, he was an elective King, he dyed, and left two Sons both in their minority, the Kingdom made choice of their Uncle his Brother to govern in the minority; afterwards the Elder Brother giving small hopes to the People that he would rule or govern well, seeking to supplant that good Uncle of his, that governed then justly, they set the Elder aside, and took to the Younger. Sir, if I should come to what your stories make mention of, you know
very

very well you are the 109 King of *Scotland*; for to mention so many Kings as that Kingdome according to their power and priviledge, have made bold to deal withall, some to banish, and some to imprison, and some to put to death, it would be too long; and as one of your Authors sayes, it would be too long to recite the manifold examples that your own stories make mention of; *Reges* (say they) we do create, we created Kings at first, *Leges* &c. We imposed Lawes upon them; and as they are chosen by the suffrages of the People at the first, so upon just occasion, by the same suffrages, they may be taken down again: and we will be bold to say, that no Kingdome hath yeilded more plentiful experience then that your Native Kingdome of *Scotland* hath done concerning the depotion, and the punishment of their offending and transgressing Kings, &c.

It is not far to go for an example neer you, your Grandmother set aside, and your Father, an Infant crowned; and the State did it here in *England*, here hath not been a want of some examples, they have made bold (the Parliament and the People of *England*) to call their Kings to account, there are frequent examples of it in the *Saxons* time, the time before the Conquest; since the Conquest there wants not some Presidents neither, King *Edward* the second, King *Richard* the second, were dealt with so by the Parliament, as they were deposed and deprived: and truly Sir, who ever shall look into their stories, they shall not finde the Articles that are charged upon them to come neer to that height and capitalnesse of Crimes that are layed to your charge, nothing neer.

Sir, you were pleased to say the other day, where-
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they

to they discent, and I did not contradict it, but take altogether: Sir, if you were as the Charge speaks, & no otherwise admitted K. of *England*, but for that you were pleased then to alledge, how that almost for a thousand years these things have been, stories will tell you, if you go no higher then the time of the Conquest; if you do come down since the Conquest, you are the 24 King from *William* called the Conqueror, you shall find one half of them to come meerly from the State, and not meerly upon the point of Discent; it were easie to be instanced to you, the time must not be lost that way. And truly Sir, what a grave and learned Judge in his time, & well known to you, is since printed for posterity, *That although there was such a thing as a Descent many times, yet the Kings of England ever held the greatest assurance of their titles, when it was declared by Parliament*: And Sir, your Oath, the manner of your Coronation doth shew plainly, That the Kings of *England*, and though it's true by the Law the next perion in bloud is designed; yet if there were just cause to refuse him, the People of *England* might do it. For there is a *Contract* and Bargain made between the King and his People, and your Oath is taken, and certainly Sir, the Bond is reciprocal, for as you are the leige Lord, so they leige Subjects, and we know very well that hath been so much spoken of, *Ligatus est duplex*. This we know now, the one tye, the one Bond, is the bond of perfection which is due from the Sovereign, the other is the bond of Subjection that is due from the Subject. Sir, if this bond be once broken, farewell Sovereignty, *Subjectionis trahit*, &c.

These things may not be denied Sir, I speak it the rather, and I pray God it may work upon your heart

heart, that you may be sensible of your miscarriages. For whether you have been, as by your Office you ought to be, a *Protector of England*; or the *Destroyer of England*, let all *England* judge, or all the world that hath look'd upon it. Sir, though you have it by *Inheritance* in the way that is spoken of, yet it must not be denyed that your Office was an Office of Trust, and an Office of the highest trust lodged in any single person; For as you were the grand *Administrator of Justice*, and others were as your *Delegates* to see it done throughout your Realms, if your great Office were to do Justice, and preserve your People from wrong, and in stead of doing that you will be the *great wrong-doer your selfe*; It instead of being a *Conservator of the Peace*, you will be the *Grand Disturber of the Peace*, surely this is contrary to your Office, contrary to your Trust. Now Sir, if it be an Office of *Inheritance*, as you speak of your Title by *Descend*, let all men know, that great Offices are seizable and forfeitable, as if you had it but for a year, and for your life; Therefore Sir, it will concern you to take into your serious consideration your great miscarriages in this kinde.

Truly Sir, I shall not particularize the many miscarriages of your Reign whatsoever, they are famously known, it had been happy for the Kingdom, and happy for you too, if it had not been so much known, and so much felt, as the story of your miscarriages must needs be, and hath been already.

Sir, That that we are now upon by the command of the *highest Court*, hath been & is to try and judge you for great offences of yours. Sir, the Charge hath called you *Tyrant, a Traitor, a Murderer, and a publick Enemy to the Common-wealth of England.*

Sir, it had been well, if that any of all these termes might rightly and justly have been spared, if any one of them at all.

King. 'Ha?

President. Truly Sir, we have been told, *Rex est dum bene regit, Tyrannus qui populum opprime;* and if so be, that be the definition of a Tyrant, then see how you come short of it in your Actions, whether the highest Tyrant by that way of Arbitrary Government, and that you have sought to introduce, and that you have sought to put, you were putting upon the People, whether that was not as high an Act of Tyranny, as any of your Predecessors were guilty of, may many degrees beyond it.

Sir, the term Traytor cannot be spared, we shall easily agree it must denote and suppose a breach of Trust, and it must suppose it to be done by a Superior, and therefore Sir, as the People of England might have incurred that respecting you, if they had been truly guilty of it, as to the definition of Law: so on the other side, when you did break your Trust to the Kingdome, you did break your Trust to your Superior: For the Kingdom is that for which you were trusted: And therefore Sir, for this breach of Trust when you are called to account, you are called to account by your Superiors. *Minimus ad Majorem in judicium vocat.* And Sir, the People of England cannot be so far wanting to themselves, which God having dealt so miraculously & gloriously for, they having power in their hands and their great Enemy, they must proceed to do Justice to themselves and to you? For, Sir, the Court could heartily desire, That you would lay your hand upon your heart and consider what you have done amiss, That you would endeavour to make

make your peace with God. Truly Sir, These are your high crimes, Tyranny and Treason.

There is a third thing too, if those had not been, and that is Murther, which is layd to your charge. All the bloody Murthers that have been committed since this time that the devision was betwixt you and your People, must be laid to your charge, that have been acted or committed in these late Wars. Sir, it is an heinous and crying sin: and truly Sir, if any man will ask us what punishment is due to a Murtherer, Let Gods Law, let Mans Law, speak. Sir, I will presume that you are so well read in Scripture, as to know what God himself hath said concerning *the shedding of Mans blood*, Gen. 9: Num. 35. will tell you what the punishment is, and which this Court in behalf of the Kingdome are sensible of, of that innocent blood that has been shed, whereby indeed the Land stands still defiled with that blood, and as the Text hath it, *It can no way be cleansed, but with the shedding of the blood of him that shed this blood.* Sir, we know no Dispensation from this blood in that Commandement, *Thou shalt do no murder*; we do not know but that it extends to Kings, as well as to the meanest Peasants, the meanest of the People, the command is universall. Sir, Gods Law forbids it, Mans Law forbids it, nor do we know that there is any manner of exception, nor even in mans Laws, for the punishment of Murther in you. 'Tis true, that in the case of Kings, every private hand was not to put forth it self to this work for their Reformation and punishment. But Sir, the people represented having power in their hands, had there been but one wilfull act of Murther by you committed, had power to have convicted you, and to have punished you for it.

But then Sir, the weight that lies upon you in all those respects that have been spoken, by reason of your *Tyranny, Treason, breach of trust*, and the Murthers that have been committed, surely Sir, it must drive you into a sad consideration concerning your eternall condition: as I said at first, I know it cannot be pleasing to you to hear any such things as these are mentioned unto you from this Court, for so we do call our selves, and justifie our selves to be a Court, and a *High Court of Justice*, authorized by the highest and solemnest Court of the Kingdome, as we have often said; and although you do yet endeavour what you may to dis-court us, yet we do take knowledge of our selves to be such a Court as can administer Justice to you, and we are bound, Sir, in duty to do it. Sir, all I shall say before the reading of your Sentence, it is but this; the Court does heartily desire, that you will seriously think of those evils that you stand guilty of. Sir, you said well to us the other day, you wisht us to have God before our eyes, Truly Sir, I hope all of us have so, that God that we know is a King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, that God with whom there is no respect of persons, that God that is the avenger of innocent blood, we have that God before us, that God that does bestow a curse upon them that withhold their hands from shedding of blood, which is the case of guilty Malefactors, and that do deserve death; That God we have before our eyes, and were it not that the conscience of our duty hath called us unto this place, and this employment, Sir, you should have had no appearance of a Court here: but Sir, we must prefer the discharge of our duty unto God, and unto the Kingdome, before any other respect whatsoever: and although at this time

time many of us, if not all of us, are severely threatened by some of your party, what they intend to do. Sir, we do here declare, that we shall not decline or forbear the doing of our duty in the administration of Justice even to you, according to the merit of your offence, although God should permit those men to effect all that bloody design in hand against us. Sir, we will say, and we will declare it, as those Children in the fiery Furnace, that would not worship the golden Image that *Nebuchadnezzar* had set up, *That their God was able to deliver them from that danger that they were near unto*; but yet if he would not do it yet, notwithstanding that, they would not fall down and worship the Image: we shall thus apply it, That though we should not be delivered from those bloody hands and hearts that conspire the overthrow of the Kingdome in general, of us in particular, for acting in this great work of Justice, though we should perish in the work, yet by Gods grace, and by Gods strength, we will go on with it: And this is all our Resolutions. Sir, I say for your self, we do heartily wish, and desire, that God would be pleased to give you a sense of your sins, that you would see wherein you have done amisse, that you may cry unto him, that God would deliver you from blood-guiltinesse. A good King was once guilty of that particular thing, and was clear otherwise, saving in the matter of *Uriah*. Truly Sir, the story tells us, that he was a repentant King, and it signifies enough that he had dyed for it, but that God was pleased to accept of him, and to give him his pardon, *thou shalt not dye, but the child shall dye, thou hast given cause to the enemies of God to blaspheme.*

King. 'I would desire only one word before you
b 4 'give

give sentence, and that is; That you would hear me concerning those great imputations that you have laid to my charge.

President. Sir, you must give me leave to go on, for I am not far from your *Sentence*, and your time is now past.

King. But I shall desire you will hear me a few words to you, for truly what ever *Sentence* you will put upon me, in respect of those heavy imputations see by your speech you have put upon me, that I Sir, it is very true that —

President. Sir, I must put you in mind, Truly Sir, I would not willingly at this time, especially, interrupt you in any thing you have to say, that is proper for us to admit of; but Sir, you have not owned us as a Court, and you look upon us as a sort of people met together, and we know what Language we receive from your party.

King. I know nothing of that.

Pres. You dis-avow us as a Court, and therefore for you to address your self to us, not to acknowledge us as a Court to judge of what you say, it is not to be permitted; and the *truth* is, all along from the first time, you were pleased to dis-avow and disown us, the Court needed not to have heard you one word; for unless they be acknowledged a Court, and engaged, it is not proper for you to speak: Sir, we have given you too much liberty already, & admitted of too much delay, and we may not admit of any further; were it proper for us to do, we should hear you freely, and we should not have declined to have heard you at large, what you could have said or proved on your behalf, whether for totally excusing, or for in part excusing those great & heinous charges that in whole or in part are laid upon you, But Sir, I shall

shal trouble you no longer, your sins are so large a dimension, that if you do but seriously think of them, they will drive you to a sad consideration, they may improve in you a sad and serious repentance. And that the Court doth heartily wish that you may be so penitent for what you have done amiss, that God may have mercy at leastwise upon your better part. Truly Sir, for the other, it is our parts and duties to do that, that the Law prescribes, we are not here *judicare*, but *ius dicere*; We cannot be unmindful of what the Scripture tels us, For to acquit the guilty, is of equal abomination as to condemn the innocent. we may not acquit the guilty; what Sentence the Law affirms to a Traytor, Tyrant, a Murtherer, and a publique Enemy to the Countrey, that Sentence you are now to hear read unto you, and that is the Sentence of the Court.

The Lord *President* commands the Sentence to be read. Make an O Yes, and command silence while the Sentence is read.

O Yes made, silence commanded.

The Clerk read the Sentence, which was drawn up in parchment.

Whereas the Commons of England in Parliament have appointed them an high Court of Justice for the Trying of Charles Stuart King of England, before whom he had been three times convented, and at first time a charge of high Treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors was read in the behalf of the Kingdom of England, &c.

Here the Clerk read the Charge.

Which Charge being read unto him as aforesaid, He the said *Charles Stuart*, was required to give his Answer, but he refused so to do, and so exprest the several

several passages at his Tryal in refusing to answer,

For all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, That the said Charles Stewart, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and a publique Enemy, shall be put to Death, by the severing his Head from his Body.

After the Sentence read, the Lord
President said,

This Sentence now read and published, it is this
A& Sentence, Judgement, and resolution of the whole Court.

Here the Court stood up, and assenting to what
the *President* said,

King. Will you hear me a word fir?

President. Sir, you are not to be heard after the
Sentence.

King. No fir?

President. No Sir, by your favour Sir : Guard,
withdraw your Prisoner.

King. I may speak after the *sentence* ———

By your favour Sir, I may speak after the *sentence*
ever.

By your favour (hold) the *sentence* Sir ———

I say Sir, I do ———

I am not suffered for to speak, expect what Ju-
stice other people will have.

O Yes, All manner of persons that have any thing
else to doe, are to depart at this time, and to give
their attendance in the Painted Chamber, to which
place this Court doth forthwith adjourn it self.

Then the Court rose, and the King went with his
Guard to Sir *Robert Cottons*, and from thence to
White-Hall.

The

The Names of those persons that were present
at the Sentencing of the King to death,

Bradshaw,
O. Cromwell,
H. Ireton,
Sir Hardres Waller,
H. Wanton,
Tho. Harrison,
Edw. Whalley,
Tho. Pride,
Isaac Ewer,
Lord Grey of Grooby,
Will. Lord Mounson,
Sir Jo. Danvers,
Sir Tho. Maleverer
Sir Jo. Bourchier,
Isaac Penington,
Hen. Martin,
Will. Purefoy,
Jo. Barkstead.
Jo. Blakeston,
Gilbert Millington.
Sir William Constable,
Edward Ludlow,
Jo. Hutchinson,
Sir Mich. Livesey,
Robert Titchborne,
Owen Roe,
Robert Lilburn,
Adrian Scroop,
Rich. Dean,
Jo. Okey,
Jo. Harrison,
Jo. Hugbson,
Will. Goffe,
Cor. Holland,
Jo. Carey,
W. Heveningham,
Miles Corbet,

Jo. Jones,
Tho. Lister,
Pet. Pelham,
Tho. Wogan,
Fran. Allen,
Tho. Challoner,
Jo. Moors,
W. Say,
Jo. Aldred,
Fran. Laffels,
Hen. Smith,
Ja. Challoner,
Humph. Edwards,
Greg. Clement,
Jo. Fry,
Sir Greg. Norton,
Ed. Harvey,
Io. Venn,
Tho. Scot,
Tho. Andrewes, Alderman
of London,
W. Carley,
Aurb. Stap'ys,
Jo. Downes,
Tho. Horton,
Tho. Hamond,
Jo. Lisle,
Nich. Love,
Vincent Potter,
Augustine Garland,
Io. Duxwell,
Symon Steyne,
Iq. Temple,
Peter Temple,
Dan. Magraue,
Jo. Brown,
Tho. Welter.

The

Ordered that Sir *Hardress Waller*, Coll. *Harrison*, Com. General *Ireton*, Coll. *Dean*, and Coll *Okey*, are appointed a Committee to consider of the time and place for the Execution of the King, according to his sentence given by the high Court of Justice.

Painted Chamber, Lunæ, Jan. 29. 1648.

UPON Report made from the Committee for considering of the time and place of the executing of the judgement against the King: That the said Committee have resolved that the open street before *White-hall* is a fit place, And that the said Committee conceive it fit, that the King be there executed the morrow, the King having already notice thereof; The Court approved thereof, and ordered a Warrant to be drawn for that purpose, which Warrant was accordingly drawn and agreed unto; and ordered to be ingrossed, which was done, and Signed and Sealed accordingly, as followeth.

The Warrant for beheading the King.

At the high Court of Justice for the Trying and Judging of *Charles Stuart* King of England, Jan. 29. 1648.

WHEREAS *Charles Stuart* King of England, is, and standeth Convicted, Attainted and Condemned of high Treason, and other high Crimes,

King Charles the I. 29

Crimes, and Sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Court, to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body; of which Sentence, Execution yet remains to be done: These are therefore to will and require you to see the said Sentence Executed in the open street before White-Hall, upon the morrow, being the 30. day of this instant moneth of January, between the houres of 10. in the morning, and 5. in the afternoon of the same day, with full effect; And for so doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant. And these are to require all Officers and Souldiers, and other the good people of this Nation of England, to be assisting unto you in this service,

Given under our Hands and Seals,

To Coll. Francis Hacker, Coll. Hauks, and Lieutenant Coll. Phray, and to every of them:

Sealed and subscribed by Jo. Bradshaw.
Tho. Grey. O. Cromwell, &c.

Painted Chamber. Jan. 30. 1648.

The Commissioners met, and ordered, That Mr. Marshall, Mr. Wye, Mr. Caryll, Mr. Salway, and Mr. Dell, be desired to attend the King to administer to him those spiritual helps, as should be suitable to his present condition, and Lieutenant Colonel Goffe is desired forthwith to repair unto them for that purpose.

Who did so, but after informed the Court, That the

the King being acquainted therewith, refused to confer with them, expressing that he would not be troubled with them.

Ordered, That the Scaffold upon which the King is to be executed, be covered with black.

The Warrant for executing the King being accordingly delivered to those parties to whom the same was directed, execution was done upon him according to the Tenour of the Warrant about two of the Clock in the Afternoon of the said 30. of January.

Other Passages relating to the Tryal and Execution of the King.

After Sentence, The King being hurried from their Bar, as he passed down the Stairs, The Common Soldiers (laying a side all Reverence to Sovereignty) scoffed at him, casting the Smoak of their stinking tobacco in his Face (no Smell more offensive to him) and flinging their soul pipes at his feet; But one more insolent then the rest, defiled his venerable Face with his spittle, for his Majesty was observed with much patience to wipe it off with his Handkercheif, and as he passed, hearing them cry out Justice, Justice, Poor souls (said he) for a peece of money, they would do so for their Commanders. That Night being Saturday Jan. 27. the King lodged at White-hall; that Evening a Member of the Army (acquainted the Committee) with the desires of the King, that seeing they had passed Sentences of Death upon him, and the time of his Execution might be nigh; that he might see his Children, and receive the Sacrament, and that Dr. Jaxon Bishop of London, might be admitted to pray

pray with him in his private Chamber; both which were granted,

The next day, being Sunday, Jan. 28. the King was attended by his Guard to St. James's, where the Bishop of London preached privately before him; his Text was in Rom. 2. 16. *In the day when God shall judge the secrets of all men, by Jesus Christ according to my Gospel.*

Monday Jan. 29. His Children were permitted to come to him, where passed this following Discourse, as it was set down in writing by his Daughter the Lady Elizabeth (which Lady Elizabeth some months after, being confined to Crasbrough-castle in the Isle of Wight, dyed there with greif for the Sufferings of her Dear Father.)

A true Relation of the Kings Speech to the Lady Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester, the Day before his Death.

HIS Children being come to meet him, He first gave his Blessing to the Lady Elizabeth, and bade her remember to tell her Brother James, when ever she should see him, that it was his Fathers last desire that he should no more look upon Charles as his eldest Brother only, but be obedient unto him as his Sovereign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the King to her, Sweet-heart, you'l forget this; No (said she) I shall never forget it while I live; and pouring forth abundance of tears, promised him to write down the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of Gloucester upon his

his Knee, said, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers head (upon which words the child looked very stedfastly on him) Mark child what I say, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, you must not be a King, so long as your Brothers, *Charles* and *James*, do live; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at last: and therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them. At which the child sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first: which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Tuesday Jan. 30. (The Fatal Day) He was about 10. of the Clock, brought from his Pallace at *St. James's* to *White-hall*, marched on foot (guarded with a Regiment of foot Soldiers) through the Park, with their Colours flying, and Drums beating, his private Guard of Partizans about him, *Dr. Juxon* Bishop of *London* on one side, and *Coll. Tomlinson* on the other, both bare headed, bidding them go faster, saying, *That he now went before them to strive for an heavenly Crown with lesse Solitude, then he had oftentimes bid his Soldiers to fight for a Earthly Diadem.* Being come to the end of the Park, he ascends the Stairs, leading to the long Gallery in *Whitehall*, and so into the *Cabinet Chamber*, where he formerly used to Lodge; there his Majesty with the Bishop of *London*, continued for some time in devotion, and received the blessed Sacrament from the hand of the said Bishop; at which time he read for the second Lesson, the 27. Chapter of *St. Matthews* Gospel, which contained the History of the Death and Passion of our Blessed Saviour, the Communion ended, his Majesty thanked the Bishop for
 sele-

selecting so seasonable and comfortable a portion of Scripture. The Bishop modestly replied no thanks was due to him, for it was the Chapter appointed by the *Rubrick* of the Church for the second morning Lesson, for that day being *Jan. 30.* here the King continued at his devotion, refusing to dine, onely about twelve of the Clock, he eat a bit of bread, and drank a Glasse of Claret, from thence about one a Clock he was accompanied by Dr. *Juxon* and Coll. *Thomlinson*, and other Officers formerly appointed to attend him, and the private Guard of Partizans with Musketeers on each side, through the Banqueting-house, adjoining to which the Scaffold was erected, between *White-hall* Gate, and the Gate leading into the Gallery from from *St. James's*: The Scaffold was hung round with black, the floor covered with black bayes and the Ax and block laid in the middle of the Scaffold. There were divers Companies of Foot of *Collonel Prides* Regiment, and several Troops of Horse placed on the one side of the Scaffold toward *Kings-street*, and on the other side toward *Charing-Cross*, and the multitudes of people that came to be Spectators very great. The King being come upon the Scaffold, it was expected he would say somewhat to the people, the which he did.

But because we have no other Relation of what his Majesty then spake, save what was taken in short hand, on the Scaffold, by three several Gentlemen, who were very exquisite in that Art, nor had his Majesty any copy (being surprized and hastned by those who attended him to the Scaffold, save only a few beads in a little scrip of Paper, which after his death, the Soldiers took from the Bishop of London, to whom he gave it: therefore the Reader must be content with this Copy, which was by them upon joyned comparing of their copies published (some few words being altered to make the sense perfect.

The King being come upon the Scaffold, and looking about him upon the people, who were kept off by Troops of Horse, so that they could not come neerer to hear him, omitted what he had purposed to have spoken to them (as 'tis thought) and turning himself to the Soldiers and Officers (the Instruments of the Regicide); spake to them to this effect:

The King being come upon the Scaffold, look'd very earnestly upon the block, and asked Col. Hacker if there were no higher: and then speak thus (directing his Speech chiefly to Coll. Thomlinson)

King. I shall be very little heard of any body here, I shall therefore speak a word unto you here: indeed I could hold my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make some men think, that I did submit to the guilt, as well as to the punishment but I think it is my duty to God first, and to my Country, for to clear my self both as an honest man, a good King, and a good Christian. I shall begin first with my *Innocency*, In troth, I think it not very needful for me to insist long upon this for all the world knows that I never did begin a War with the two houses of Parliament, and I call God to witness, to whom I must shortly make an account, That I never did intend for to incroach upon their Priviledges, they began upon me, it is the Militia they began upon, they confest that the *Militia* was mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from me: and to be short if any body will look to the dates of Commissions,

' of their Commissions and mine, and like-
 ' wise to the Declarations, will see clearly
 ' that they began these unhappy troubles, not I: so
 ' that as the guilt of these enormous Crimes that
 ' are laid against me, I hope in God that God will
 ' clear me of. I will not, I am in charity: God forbid
 ' that I should lay it upon the two Houses of Parli-
 ' ment, there is no necessity of either, I hope they
 ' are free of this guilt: for I doe believe that ill in-
 ' struments between them and me, has been the
 ' chief cause of all this blood-shed: so that by way
 ' of speaking, as I find my self clear of this, I hope
 ' (and pray God) that they may too: yet for all
 ' this, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian
 ' as not to say that Gods judgements are just upon
 ' me: Many times he does pay Justice by unjust Sen-
 ' tence, that is ordinary. I will onely say this, That
 ' an unjust Sentence * that I suffered for to take
 ' effect is * *Strafford*, punished now by an
 ' unjust Sentence upon me, that is so for I have said,
 ' to shew you that I am in innocent man.

' Now for to shew you that I am a good Christian:

' I hope there is * a good man that
 ' * Pointing to Dr. *Juxon*. will bear me witness, That I have
 ' forgiven all the world, & even those
 ' in particular that have been the chief
 ' causers of my death; who they are God knows, I
 ' doe not desire to know, I pray God forgive them.
 ' But this is not all, my Charity must go further, I
 ' wish that they may repent, for indeed they have
 ' committed a great sin in that particular: I pray
 ' God with *St. Stephen*, that this be not laid to their
 ' charge, may not only so, but that they may take the
 ' right way to the peace of the Kingdom, for my
 ' Charity commands me, not only to forgive parti-

*Turning to
some Gentle-
men that
wrote.*

cular men, but my Charity commands
me to endeavour to the last gasp the
Peace of the Kingdom. So (Sir) I doe
wish with all my soul, and I do hope
there is some here will carry it fur-
(ther) that they may endeavour the Peace of the
Kingdome.

Now (Sirs) I must shew you both how you are
out of the way, and will put you in the way: first,
you are out of the way, for certainly all the way
you ever have had yet as I could find by any thing
is in the way of conquest; certainly this is an ill
way: for conquest (Sir) in my opinion is never
just, except there be a good just Cause, either for
matter of wrong or just Title, and then if you goe
beyond it, the first quarrel that you have to it is it
that makes it unjust at the end that was just at first:
But if it be onely matter of Conquest, then it is a
great Robbery, as a Pirat said to *Alexander*, that
he was the great Robber, he was but a petty Rob-
ber: and so, Sir, I doe think the way that you are
in, is much out of the way, Now, Sir, for
to put you in one way, believe it you will ne-
ver do right, nor God will never prosper you, until
you give God his due, the King his due (that is,
my Successors) and the people their due: I am as
much for them as any of you: You must give God
his due, by regulating rightly his Church (ac-
cording to his Scriptures) which is now out of or-
der; For to set you in a way particularly now I
cannot, but onely this, *A National Synod freely
called*, freely debating among themselves, must set-
tle this: when that every Opinion is freely and
clearly heard.

For the King, indeed I will not (then turning to a
Gent

* Meaning if
he did blunt
the edge.

'Gentleman that touched the Ax, said,

'Hurt not the Ax, that may hurt me.

* For the King the Laws of the Land

'will cleerly instruct you for that;

'therefore, because it concerns my own particular, I onely give you a touch of it.

'For the people: and truly I desire their Liberty

'and freedom as much as any body who soever, but

'I must tell you that their Liberty and freedom

'consists in having of government, those Laws by

'which their Life and their Goods may be most

'their own. It is not for having share in govern-

'ment (Sir) that is nothing pertaining to them; A

'Subject and a Sovereign are clean different things,

'and therefore until they do that, I mean, That you

'do put the people in that Libertie as I say, certain-

'ly they will never enjoy themselves.

'Sir, It was for this that now I am come here: If

'I would have given way to an Arbitrarie way, for

'to have all Laws changed according to the power

'of the Sword, I needed not to have come here, and

'therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid

'to your charge) that *I am the Martyr of the people.*

'Introth Sirs, I shall not hold you much longer,

'for I will onely say this to you, that in truth I

'could have desired some little time longer, be-

'cause I would have put this that I have said in a

'little more order, and a little better digested then

'I have done, and therefore I hope you will ex-

'cuse me.

'I have delivered my Conscience, I pray God that

'you doe take those courses that are best for the

'good of the Kingdome, and your own salva-

'tions.

Dr. Juxon. Will your Majesty (though it may be ve-

ry well known your Majesties affections to Religion, ye it may be expected that you should) say somewhat for the worlds satisfaction.

King. I thank you very heartily (my Lord, for that I had almost forgotten it. Introth Sirs, My Conscience in Religion I think is very well known to all the world, and therefore I declare before you all, That I die a Christian; according to the profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my Father, and this honest man

"pointing to Dr. Juxon.

I think will witness it. *Then turning to the Officers, said,* Sirs, excuse me for this same, I have a good cause, and I have a gracious God, I will say no more. *Then turning to Colonel Hacker, he said;* Take care they doe not put me to pain, and Sir, this, and it please you; *But then a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the King said,* take heed of the Ax, pray Take heed of the Ax, *then the King speaking to the Executioner, said,* I shall say but very short prayets, and when I thrust out my hands ———

Then the King called to Doctor Juxon for his Nightcap, and having put it on, he said to the Executioner, *Does my hair trouble you?* who desired him to put it all under his cap, which the king did accordingly by the help of the executioner and the Bishop: then the King turning to Doctor Juxon said, *I have a good Cause, and a gracious God on my side.*

Doctor Juxon. There is but one Stage more, this Stage is turbulent and troublesome, it is a short one: But you may consider, it will soon carry you a very great way: it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you shall find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.

King.

King. *I goe from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown; where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world.*

Doctor Juxon, You are exchanged from a Temporal to an Eternal Crown, a good exchange.

The king then said to the executioner, is my hair well? Then the King took off his Cloak and his George, giving his George to Doctor Juxon, saying, Remember * —————

Then the King put off his Doublet, and being in his Waistcoat, put his cloak on again, then looking upon the block, said to the executioner, *You must set it fast.*

** It is thought for to give it to the Prince.*

Executioner. It is fast, Sir.

King. *When I put my hands out this way, stretching them out, then* —————

After that, having said two or three words (as he stood) to himself, with hands and eyes lift up; Immediately stooping down, laid his neck upon the Block: and then the Executioner again putting his hair under his Cap the King said (thinking he had been going to strike) stay for the sign.

Executioner, Yes, I will and it please your Majesty.

And after a very little pause, the King stretching forth his hands. The Executioner at one blow severed his head from his body, the head being off, the Executioner held it up, and shewed it to the people; which done; it was with the Body put in a Coffin covered with black Velvet for that purpose, and conveyed into his Lodgings there: And from thence it was carried to his house at Saint James's, where his body was embalmed and put in a Coffin of

Lead laid there a fortnight to be seen by the people; and on the Wednesday sevensnight, after his Corps embalmed and coffined in Lead, was delivered chiefly to the care of four of his Servants, *viz.* Mr. *Herbert*, Captain *Anthony Mildmay* his Sewers, Captain *Preston*, and *John Joyner*, former Cook to to his Majesty; they attended with others, cloathed in mourning Suits and Cloaks, accompanied the Hearse that night to *Windsor*, and placed it in that which was formerly the Kings Bed-chamber, next day it was removed into the *Deans Hall*, which Room was hanged with black, and made dark; Lights burning round the Hearse, in which it remained till three in the Afternoon, about which time came the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marquess of *Hertford*, the Marquess of *Dorchester*, the Earl of *Lyndsey*, having obtained an order from the Parliament, for the Decent Enterment of the King their royal Master, provided the expence thereof exceeded not five hundred pounds: at their coming into the Castle, they shewed their Order of Parliament to Colonel *Wicheott* Governour of the Castle, desiring the Enterment might be in *St. George's Chapel*; and by the form in the Common Prayer Book of the Church of *England*; this request was by the Governour denied, saying it was improbable that the Parliament would permit the use of what they had so solemnly abolished, and therein destroy their own Act, To which the Lords replied, there is a difference betwixt destroying their own Act, and dispensing with it, and that no power so binds its own hands, as to disable it self in some cases; all could not prevail, the Governour persisting in the negative, The Lords betook themselves to the search of a convenient place, for the Burial of the Corps

King Charles the I.

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Corps, the which after some pains taking therein, they discover a Vault in the middle of the Quire, wherein, as is probably conjectured, lyeth the body of King *Henry* the eight, and his beloved wife the Lady *Jane Seamer*, both in Coffins of Lead; in this Vault there being Room for one more, they resolve to inter the body of the King, the which was accordingly brought to the place, born by the Officers of the Garrison, the four Corners of the Velvet Pall, born up by the aforesaid four Lords, the pious Bishop of *London* following next, and other person of Quality, the body was committed to the earth with sighs and tears, especially of the Reverend Bishop, to be denyed to do the last Duty and Service to his Dear and Royal Master, the Velvet Pall being cast into the Vault was laid over the Body, upon the Coffin was these words set,

KING CHARLES 1648.

A Letter (worthy Perusal) written by King CHARLES, to his Son the PRINCE, from Newport in the Isle of Wight, Dated November, 29. 1648.

Son,

BY what hath been said, you may see how long We have laboured in the search of Peace. Do not you be discourag'd to tread those wayes in all those worthy means to restore your self to your Right; but prefer the way of Peace: shew the greatness of your mind, rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning then by punishing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristianly this implacable disposition is in our ill-willers, you would avoid that spi-

rit. Censure us not for having parted with too much of Our own right: the price was great, the commodity was security to Us, Peace to Our People. And We are confident another Parliamēt would remember how useful a Kings power is to a Peoples liberty. Of how much we have divested Our self, that We & they might meet again in a due Parliamētary way, to agree the bounds for Prince and People. And in this give belief to Our experience, never to affect more Greatness or Prerogative, than what is really and intrinsically for the good of your Subjects, (not satisfaction of Favorites.) And if you thus use it, you will never want means to be a Father to all, and a bountifull Prince to any you would be extraordinarily gracious unto. You may perceive all men trust their treasure where it returns them interest: And if Princes, like the Sea, receive and repay all the fresh streams and rivers trust them with; they will not grudge, but pride themselves to make them up an Ocean. These considerations may make you a great Prince, as your Father is now a low one; and your state maybe so much the more established, as mine hath been shaken. For Subjects have learnt (We dare say) that Victories over their Princes are but Triumphs over themselves, and so will be more unwilling to hearken to changes hereafter. The *English* Nation are a sober People, however at present under some insatiation. We know not but this may be the last time We may speak to you or the world publickly; We are sensible into what hand We are falln, and yet We bless God, We have those inward refreshments, that the malice of Our Enemies cannot perturb. We have learnt to own Our self, by retiring into Our self, and therefore can the better digest what befalls Us, not doubting but God can

King Charles the I.

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can restrain Our Enemies malice, and turn their fierceness into his praise. To conclude, if God give you success, use it humbly and far from revenge: If he restore you to your Right upon hard conditions, what ever you promise, keep. Those men which have forced Lawes which they were bound to observe, will find their triumphs full of troubles. Do not think any thing in this World worth obtaining by foul and unjust means. You are the Son of Our love: and as We direct you to what we have recommended to you, so we assure you, We do not more affectionately pray for you (to whom We are a natural Parent) then We doe, that the ancient glory and renown of this Nation, be not buried in irreligion and fanatick humour: And that all our Subjects (to whom we are a Politick Parent) may have such sober thoughts as to seek their Peace, in the Orthodox Profession of the Christian Religion, as it was established since the Reformation in this Kingdome, and not in new Revelations: And that the ancient Lawes, with the Interpretation according to the known practises, may once again be an hedge about them, that you may in due time govern, and they be governed, as in the fear of the Lord.

C. R.

THe Commissioners are gone, the Corn is now in the Ground, We expect the Harvest, if the Fruit be Peace. We hope the God of Peace will in time reduce all to Truth and Order again. Which that he may do, is the prayer of

C. R.

A N



A N

E L E G I E

On the Sufferings and Death

O F

K. Charles I.

Come, come, let's Mourn ; all Eyes, that see this Day,
 Melt into Shows, and Weep your selves away :
 O that each Private head could yield a Flood
 Of Tears, whil' *Brittain's* Head stream's out His Blood ;
 Could we pay what His *Sacred Drops* might claim,
 The World must needs be drowned once again.
 Hands cannot write for trembling ; let our Eye
 Supply the Quill, and shed an *Elegy*.
 Tongues cannot speak ; this Grief know's no such vent,
 Nothing but Silence, can be Eloquent.
 Words are not here significant ; in This
 Our Sighs, our Groans bear all the *Emphasis*.
 Dread Sir ! What shall we say ? *Hyperbole*
 Is not a Figure, when it speaks of *Thee* :
 Thy *Best* is our best Language ; what to this
 Shall yet be added, is thy *Misofis* :
 Thy *Name's* a Text too hard for us : no men
 Can write of it, without Thy *Parts* and *Pen*.

Thy *Prisons*, *Scorns*, *Reproach*, and *Poverty*
 (Through these were thought too courteous Injury)

How

How could'st Thou bear? Thou Meeker *Moses*, how?
 Was ever *Lion* bit with *whelps* till now
 And did not roar? Thou *England's David*, how
 Did *Shimei's* Tongue not move Thee? Where's the Man?
 Where is the King? *Charles* is all *Christian*.
 Thou never wanted'st Subjects, no; when they
 Rebel'd, thou mad'st thy Passions to obey.
 Had'st Thou regain'd thy Throne of State by Power,
 Thou had'st not then been more a Conqueror.

But Thou, thine own *Soul's Monarch*, art above
 Revenge and Anger, Can'st Thou tame thy Love?
 How could'st Thou bear Thy *Queen's* Divorce? must She
 At once Thy *wife*, and yet Thy *widow* be?
 Where are Thy tender *Babes* once Princely bred,
 Thy choicest Jewels, are they *Sequestred*?
 Where are thy Nobles? Lo, in stead of these
 Base savage Villains, and Thine Enemies:
Egyptian Plague! 'twas onely *Pharaoh's* doom,
 To see such Vermin in His Lodging-room.
 What Guards are set, what Watches do they keep?
 They do not think Thee safe, though lock'd in Sleep.
 Would they confine Thy Dreams within to dwell,
 Nor let Thy Fancy pass their *Centinel*?
 Are Thy *Devotions* dangerous? Or do
 Thy *Prayers* want a Guard? These faulty ton &
 Varlets, 't was onely, when they spake for You.

But lo a Charge is drawn, a Day is set,
 The silent *Lamb* is brought, the *Wolves* are met.
Law is arraign'd of Treason, *Peace* of War,
 And *Justice* stand's a Prisoner at the Bar.
 This Scene was like the *Passion-Tragedie*,
 His *Saviour's* Person none could Act, but He.
 Behold what *Scribes* were here, what *Pharisees*!
 What bands of *Souldiers*! What false witnesses!
 Here was a *Priest*, and that a chief one; who
 Durst strike at *God*, and His *Vicergerent* too.
 Here *Bradshaw*, *Pilate* there: This make's them twains,
Pilate for Fear, *Bradshaw* condemn'd for Gain.
 Wretch! could'st not thou be rich, till *Charles* was dead?
 Thou might'st have rook the crown, yet spar'd the Head.
 Th' hast just h'd that *Roman* Judge; He stood
 And wast in water, thou hast dip't in Blood.

And where's the slaughter-House ? *White-hall* must be,
Lately His *Palace*, now His *Calvarie*.

Great *Charles*, is this Thy Dying-place ? And where
Thou wert our *King*, art thou our *Martyr* there ?
Thence, thence Thy Soul took flight ; and there will we
Not cease to Mourn, where Thou did'st cease to Be.
And thus, blest Soul, He's gon : a *Star*, whose fall,
As no *Eclipse* prove's *Oecumenical*.

That Wretch had *skill* to sin, whose Hand did know
How to behead three Kingdoms at one blow.
England hath lost the Influence of her *King*,
No wonder that so backward was Her *Spring*.
O dismal Day ! but yet how quickly gon ?
It must be short, Our *Sun* went down at *Noon*.

And now, ye *Senators*, is this the Thing
So oft declar'd ; Is this your *Glorious King* ?
Did you by *Oaths* your God, and Countrie mock,
Pretend a *Crown*, and yet prepare a *Block* ?
Did you, that swore you'd Mount *Charles* higher yet,
Intend the *Scaffold* for His *Olivet* ?
Was this, *Hail Master* ? Did you bow the knee
That you might murder Him with *Loyalte* ?
Alas ! two Deaths ! what cruelty was this ?
The *Ax* design'd, you might have spar'd the *Kiss*.

London, did'st thou Thy Princes Life betray ?
What ? could thy *Sables* vent no other way ?
Or else did'st thou bemoan His *Cross* ? then, ah !
Why would'st thou be the cursed *Golgotha* ?
Thou once had'st Men, Plate, Arms, a *Treasurie*
To bind thy *King*, and hast thou none to free ?
Dull beast ! thou should'st before thy Head did fall,
Have had at least thy Spirits *Anima*'.

Did You, Ye *Nobles*, envie *Charles* His *Crown* ?
You being fal'n, the *Punie-gods* must down ;
Your Raies of *Honor* are eclips'd in *Night*,
The *Sun* is set, from whence You drew your *Light*.

Religion Vail's her self ; and Mourns that She
Is forc'd to own such horrid Villanie.

The *Church* and *State* do shake ; the Building must
Expect to fall, whose *Prop* is turn'd to *Dust*.

But cease from Tears. *Charles* is of light bereav'n ;
And snuff on *Earth* to shine more bright in *Heav'n*,

Englands Black Tribunall:

THE SECOND PART:

Set forth in the

DYEING SPEECHES

And manner of Putting to Death
of *viz.*

Earl of *Strafford*,
Archbishop of *Can-*
terbury,

Duke of *Hamilton*,

Earl of *Holland*,

Lord *Capell*,

Earl of *Derby*,

Sir *Alex. Carew*,

Sir *John Hotham*,

Capt. *John Hotham*,

Mr. *Nath. Tompkins*,

Mr. *Chaloner*,

Coll. *Jo. Moris*,

Cor. *Blackburn*,

Coll. *Andrews*,

Sir *Henry Hide*,

Coll. *Gerrard*,

Mr. *Peter Vowell*,

Coll. *Penruddock*,

Capt. *Hugh Grove*,

Sir *Hen. Slingsby*,

Doctor *Jo. Hewit*.

London, Printed 1660.

THE HISTORY OF THE

SECOND PART

OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND OF IRELAND

BY JOHN BURNET

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE SECOND VOLUME

CONTAINING THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

OF GREAT BRITAIN

London, Printed 1680.



The Earl of *Straffords* Speech, or the conclusion of his Defence, before the Lord High Steward, and the rest of the Lords sitting in Westminster Hall, *April 12. 1641.* Together with his Speech on the Scaffold immediately before his Execution on Tower-Hill, *May 12. 1641.*

MY Lords! There yet remains another Treason, that I should be guilty of; the endeavouring to subvert the fundamental Lawes of the Land, that they should now be Treason together, that is not Treason in any one part of Treason accumulative, that so when all will not do, it is woven up with others, it should seem very strange.

Under favour my Lords, I do not conceive that there is either Statute Law, nor Common-Law, that doth declare the endeavouring to subvert the fundamentall Lawes to be high treason.

For neither Statute Law, nor Common-Law written, that ever I could hear of, declareth it so.

And yet I have been diligent to enquire, (as I believe you think it doth not concern me to do.)

It is hard to be questioned for life and honour upon a Law that cannot be shown.

There is a rule which I have learned from Sir Edward Cooke, *De non apparentibus & non existentibus eadem*

eadem ratio : (Jesu) where hath this fire lain all this while, so many hundreds of years, without any smoak to discover it, till it thus burst out to consume me and my children; extreme hard in my opinion, that punishment should precede promulgation of Law, punished by a Law subsequent to the Acts done.

Take it into your considerations: for certainly it is now better to be under no Law at all, but the will of men, then to conform our selves under the protection of a Law as we think, and then be punished for a crime that doth precede the Law: what man can be safe, if that be once admitted?

My Lords, it is hard in another respect, that there should be no token set upon this offence, by which we should know it, no admonition by which we should be aware of it.

If a man passe down the Thames in a Boat and it be split upon an Anchor; and no booy be set as a token that there is an Anchor there, that party that owes the Anchor, by the Maritime Lawes shall give satisfaction for the damage done; but if it were marked out, I must come upon my own peril.

Now where is a mark upon this crime? Where is the token this is high treason?

If it be under water, and not above water, no humane providence can availe nor prevent my destruction.

Lay aside all humane wisdom, and let us rest upon divine Revelation, if you will condemn before you forewarn the danger.

Oh my Lords! may your Lordships be pleased to give that regard unto the Peerage of England, as never to suffer our selves to be put on those nice points upon such contractive interpretations; and these are where Laws are not clear, or known. If there must be

be a tryal of wits, I do humbly beseech you, the subject and matter may be somewhat else then the lives and honours of Peers.

My Lords, we find, that the primitive times, in the progression of the plain Doctrine of the Apostles, they brought the Books of Curious Arts, and burned them. And so likewise as I do conceive, it will be wisdom and providence in your Lordships, for your posterity, and the whole Kingdom, to cast from you into the fire these bloody and most mysterious Volumes of constructive and Arbitrary Treason; and to break your selves to the plain Letters of the Law and Statute, that telleth us where the crime is, and by telling what is and what is not, shews us how to avoid it. And let us not be ambitious, to be more wise and learned in the killing Arts, then our forefathers were.

It is now full two hundred and forty years since ever any man was touched for this alledged crime (to this height) before my self; we have lived happily to our selves at home, and we have lived gloriously to the world abroad.

Let us rest contented with that our fathers left us, and not awaken those sleepy Lions to our own destructions; by raking up a few musty Records that have lyen so many ages by the walls, quite forgotten and neglected.

May your Lordships be Nobly pleased, to adde this to those other mis-fortunes befallen me for my sins, not for my Treasons; that a president should be derived from me of that disadvantage (as this will be in the consequent to the whole Kingdom) I beseech you seriously to consider it, and let not my particular cause be looked upon as you do; though you wound me in my interest in the Common-wealth,

and therefore those Gentlemen say, that they speak for the Common-wealth, yet in this particular I indeed speak for it, and the inconveniencies and mischiefs that will heavily fall upon us; for as it is in the first of *Henry* the fourth, no man will after know what to do, or say for fear.

Do not put my Lords so great difficulties upon the Ministers of State, that men of wisdom, honour and vertue, may not with cheerfulness and safety, be employed for the publick; if you weigh and measure them by grains and scruples, the publick affaires of the Kingdome will be laid wast, and no man will meddle with them, that hath honours, issues, or any fortunes to lose.

My Lords, I have now troubled you longer then I should have done, were it not for the interest of those dear pledges a Saint in heaven left me; I should be loth my Lords; (there he stopped.)

What I forfeit for my self it is nothing, but that my indiscretion should forfeit for my child, it even woundeth me deep to the very soul.

You will pardon my infirmity, something I should have said, but I am not able, (and sighed) therefore let it passe.

And now my Lords, I have been, by the blessing of Almighty God, taught, that the afflictions of this life present, are not to be compared to the eternal weight of that glory that shall be revealed to us hereafter.

And so my Lords, even so with tranquility of mind, I do submit my self freely and clearly to your Lordships judgments; and whether that righteous judgement shall be to life or death.

*Te Deum laudamus, te Domine
confitemur.*

THE

The Earl of Straffords Speech on the Scaffold immediately before his Execution on Tower-hill, May 12. 1641.

My L. Primate of Ireland!

IT is my very great comfort that I have your Lordship by me this day; in regard I have been known to you this many years, and I doe thank God and your Lordship for it that you are here, I should be very glad to obtain so much silence as to be heard a few words, but I doubt I shall not the noise is so great. My Lords, I am come hither by the good will and pleasure of Almighty God, to pay that last debt I owe to sin, which is death, and by the blessing of that God, to rise again through the merits of *Jesus Christ* to righteoufnesse and life eternal. [Here he was a little interrupted.]

My Lords, I am come hither to submit to that Judgement which hath passed against me, I do it with a very quiet and contented mind, I thank God I doe freely forgive all the world, a forgivenesse, that is not spoken from the teeth outwards (as they say) but from the very heart, I speak it in the presence of Almighty God, before whom I stand, that there is not a displeasing thought arising in me towards any man living. I thank God I can say it, and truly too, my conscience bearing me witness, that in all my employment since I had the Honour to serve his Majesty, I never had any thing in the purpose of my heart but what tended to the joynt and Individuall prosperity of King and people; although it hath been my ill fortune to be misconstrued.

I am not the first that hath suffered in this kind, it is the common portion of us all, while we are in this life to erre, Righteous Judgement we must

wait for in another place, for here we are very subject to be mis-judged one of another ; There is one thing that I desire to free my self of, and I am very confident (speaking it now with so much chearfulness) that I shall obtain your Christian charity in the belief of it. I was so far from being against Parliaments, that I did alwaies think the Parliaments of England were the most happy constitutions that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the best means under God to make the King and people happy.

For my Death I here acquit all the world, and beseech the God of Heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, though in the intentions and purposes of my heart I am not guilty of what I dye for ; And my Lord Primate, it is a great comfort for me, that his Majesty conceives me not meriting so severe and heavy a punishment as is the utmost execution of this Sentence. I do infinitely rejoyce in this mercy of his, and I beseech God return it into his own bosome, that he may find mercy when he stands most in need of it.

I wish this Kingdom all the Prosperity and happiness in the world, I did it living, and now dying it is my wish, I do most humbly recommend this to every one who hears me, and desire they would lay their hands upon their hearts, and consider seriously whether the beginning of the happiness and reformation of a Kingdom should be written in Letters of blood : consider this when you are at your homes, and let me be never so unhappy, as that the last drop of my blood should rise up in Judgement against any one of you, but I fear you are in a wrong way.

My Lords, I have but one word more, and with that I shall end. I professe that I die a true and obedient Son to the Church of England, wherein I was
born

born and in which I was bred. Peace and prosperity be ever to it.

It hath been objected (if it were an objection worth the answering) that I have been inclined to Popery, but I say truly from my heart, that from the time that I was one and twenty years of age to this present, going now upon forty nine; I never had in my heart to doubt of this religion of the Church of England; Nor ever had any man the boldnesse to suggest any such thing to me, to the best of my remembrance: and so being reconciled by the meritis of *Jesus Christ* my *Saviour*, into whose bosome I hope I shall shortly be gathered, to those eternall happinesse which shall never have end; I desire heartily the forgivenesse of every man, for any rash or unadvised words, or any thing done amisse; and so my Lords and Gentlemen Farewell; Farewell all the things of this world.

I desire that you would be silent and joyn with me in prayer, and I trust in God we shall all meet and live eternally in heaven, there to receive the Accomplishment of all happinesse, where every teare shall be wiped away from our eyes, and every sad thought from our hearts; and so God blesse this Kingdom, and *Jesus* have mercy on my Soul.

Then turning himself about, he saluted all the noble men; and took a solemn leave of all considerable persons upon the Scaffold, giving them his hand.

After that he said, Gentlemen, I would say my prayers, and intreat you all to pray with me, and for me; then his Chaplain laid the book of Common-prayer upon the Chaire before him, as he kneeled down, on which he prayed almost a quarter of an hour, and then as long or longer without the Book, and concluded with the Lords prayer.

Standing up he espies his Brother, Sir Gorge Wentworth, and calls him to him saying, Brother, we must part, remember me to my Sister, and to my wife, and carry my blessing to my Son, and charge him that he fear God, and continue an obedient Son to the Church of England, and warne him that he bears no private grudge or revenge toward any man concerning me; And bid him beware that he meddle not with Church-livings, for that will prove a moth and canker to him in his estate, and wish him to content himself to be a Servant to his Country, not aiming at higher Preferments.

Alister] To his Son Master Wentworth he commends himself, and gives him charge to serve his God, to submit to his King with all faith and Allegiance in things temporal, to the Church in things Spiritual, chargerh him again and again, as he will answer it to him in heaven, never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church, for if he did, it would be a Canker to eat up the rest of his Estate.

Carry my blessing also to my daughter *Anne*, and *Arabella*, charge them to serve and fear God, and he will blesse them; not forgetting my little Infant, who yet knows neither good nor evil, and cannot speak for it self, God speak for it, and blesse it; now said he, I have nigh done, one Stroke will make my wife husbandless, my dear children fatherlesse, and my poor Servants Masterlesse, and will separate me from my dear Brother, and all my friends. But let God be to you, and them all in all.

After this, going to take off his doublet and to make himself unready, he said, I thank God I am not affraid of Death, nor daunted with any discouragement rising from any fears, but do as chearfully put off my doublet at this time, as ever I did when I

went

went to bed ; then he put off his doublet, wound up his hair with his hands, and put on a white Cap.

Then he called, where is the man that is to do this last office ? (meaning the executioner) call him to me ; when he came and asked him forgiveness, he told him he forgave him and all the world : then kneeling down by the block, he went to prayer again himself, the Primate of Ireland kneeling on the one side, and the Minister on the other : To the which Minister, after prayer, he turned himself, having done prayer, and spake some few words softly, having his hands lifted up, and closed with the Ministers hands.

Then bowing himself to lay his head upon the block, he told the executioner that he would first lay down his head to try the fitness of the block, and take it up again before he would lay it down for good and all : And so he did ; and before he layed it down again, he told the Executioner that he would give him warning when to strike by stretching forth his hands ; And presently laying down his neck upon the block, and stretching forth his hands, the Executioner strook off his head at one blow, and taking it up in his hand shewed it to all the people, and said, *God save the King.*

His body was afterwards embalmed, and appointed to be carried into York-shire, there to be buried amongst his Ancestors.

He left these three Instructions for his Sonne in writing.

First, That he should continue still to be brought up under those Governors to whom he had committed him ; As being the best he could pick out of all those within his knowledg, and that he should not change them, unlesse they were weary of him ; that he should rather

rather want himself, then they should want any thing they could desire.

Secondly, He chargeth him as he would answer it at the last day, not to put himself upon any publique employments till he was thirty years of age at least: And then if his Prince should call him to Publique Service, he should carefully undertake it, to testify his obedience, and withall to be faithfull and sincere to his Master, though he should come to the same end that himself did.

Thirdly, that he should never lay any hand upon any thing that belonged to the Church; He foresaw that ruine was like to come upon the Revenues of the Church, and that perhaps they might be shared amongst the Nobility, and Gentry: But if his Son medled with any of it, he wished the curse of God might follow him, and all them, to the destruction of the most Apostolicall Church upon Earth.

The Satyriick Elegie upon the Execution of Master Nathaniel Tomkins, July the 5. 1643.

To the Citizens of London.

TIS Tomkins (glad spectators) whom you see
Hang as the Trophy of your tyranny;
Whose loyall harmlesse blood is spilt
By, and for you, yet no pale guilt
Dwells in your faces: with dry eyes
You murder, and call't Sacrifice;

I will not say of fools: but sure no man
Can call such heathen Offerings Christian.
Such bloody, deep-dy'd Crimson facts
Must not be call'd Apostles acts,

(Though

(Though *Cass* were godfather) the Dove
 Descended on the Son of Love,
 And not the Kite or Eagle : no such fowle
 Must stand as Embleme of a Christian soul.

Though your new Busse-Divines can draw
 Bloud from the Gospel, and make't Law ;
 (A killing Letter) and can bring
 Christ into th' field to kill the King ;

When both the Canon, and the Musket shot,
 Proclaim'd you guilty of a Pouder-plot :

Blacker than *Fauxes*, and more fell,
 Than that you say was hatcht in Hell.

When to defend them you let flye
 At King, Prince, Duke, Nobility.

'Tis true you bear a bloody Crosse, but this
 No badge of murther, but Religion is.

And *Walworth's* Dagger in your field,
 Shews a Lord Major a Rebell kill'd :

But now he is one, and yet he
 And *Walworth* wears one Liverie.

For my part, since *Edge-hill*, I count that we
 Live not by right, but onely courtesie.

He that dares smite my King, is more,
 Than I dare think, (grand *Seignior*)

And I his vassaile, and my breath
 Is his whose nod or frown is death.

(*Brittain*) where's now thy liberty ! thy walk
 Is not thine own, thy gesture, not thy talk.

Thou mayst smile Treason now : a look,
 If cast a squint upon a book,

Sign'd with *H. E.* will strike th' as dead
 As Basiliskes, or *Gargons* head.

Isles were Informers punishment at *Rome*,
 (Where they liv'd Exiles) ours is now become

Their

Their Paradise : He that can spye
 Malignant in the face or eye,
 Is a mad-man ! need nothing fear,
 Preferments grow at *Westminster*,

For knaves and Sycophants, and such as can
 Ruine three Kingdomes to make up one man,
 Thus fell brave *Tomkins*, rather thus
 He stood ! as did *Calimachus*,
 And more, spake dead, (for he did come
 A dead man to receive his doom)

Which as he did fore-know, he scorn'd, nor cou'd
 Their number, or their malice chill his blood.
 He stood undaunted ! nor did fear
 The Saw-pit Lord, or Manchester :
 Nor yet Sir *Johns* blood-guilty front,
 With *Straffords* head engrav'd upon't.

Nor the rest of City Judges that were there
 For nothing but to murder and forswear.
 Thus dy'd the Roman *Thrasea*,
 (Brave man) and thus fell *Seneca*.
 Both wise, and rich, and fortunate,
 Save in his tyrant pupills hate.

Nero, who laugh't to see *Rome* fric, and sung
 Unto his Harp the flames of *Ilium*.
 You doe the same and worse, for now
 A Kingdom's all on fire, whilst you
 (Idle and glad spectators) lend
 Fresh fuell, lest, the fire should spend.
 Look to't (thou bloudy City) fast and pray,
London, that this prove not *Archeldama* :

From your black doo.n we'll this conclusion draw,
 You have no Gospel, *Tomkins* had no Law.

Mr.



Mr. Challenor his Confession and speech made upon the ladder before his Execution on Wednesday the fifth of July 1643. in Corn-hill just against the Royal Exchange. Presently after Mr. TOMKINS was Executed about tenne of the clock, Mr. CHALLENGOR was carried from New-gate, accompanied with Mr. PETERS and some other Divines, and conducted by two Troops of Horse to Corn-hill, where a Gibbet was erected against the Royal Exchange, about which was a Guard consisting of two of the Trained Bands. When he came to the place of Execution, being upon the Ladder (after many Teares of hearty Contrition) he spake as followeth.

GENTLEMEN,

IT hath pleased God to bring me to this place, God hath how returned my prayer upon me, my prayer was, that if this Design might not be Honorable to him, that it might be known. God hath heard me and it is discovered, that same very thing hath satisfied me, that I was in an errour; and that I am confident, I was in a great deal of fault; And I confesse I doe now die justly; and I pray God, that I may now glorifie the Lord.

I shall onely thus much declare to the world, that they may take off the aspersen that was laid upon my

my partner, and my wife, which neither of them did know of this Design: I have declared my conscience freely to God and the world in every particular that concerns the business; thus much I shall say for my own particular. There were three things laid to my charge which there was some mistake in; Concerning the Kings Letter, whereas it was thought to be another way, I thank God, it was not that way. Then concerning the Seal, I had no hand in the procuring of it, nor knew not of it till the Friday.

There is another thing that is concerning the seizing of the Magazines, which I had no hand in neither. But I die justly, and I deserve this punishment.

But now to you all that are here, let my example be to you, that you never take your self to any thing but what you have warrant for from the Lord; I had no warrant I vow to God, that hath now satisfied me, that the Lord I hope will forgive me, I have heartily repented, and I beseech you all to take this as a warning.

And whereas there is now a great deal of distraction, and division in the City; and that we now make difference, between Gods Ministers, and Gods Ministers despise no meanes, I acknowledge my fault; I did make some difference, and I now acknowledge it; and desire the Lord to forgive me, I have received more comfort from such men, then ever I had before.

I shall not now have much to say, But I desire heartily that the whole world would forgive me, I do beg of my God, and of my Christ (who I have not honoured so much as I should have done) that he would have mercy upon me.

And

And now to you all I speak, I do now as freely forgive you, as I trust my Saviour Jesus Christ hath forgiven me. And so Lord Jesus, into thy hands do I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me O Lord God ; and so the Lord take me, and the Lord receive me.

*Then his Father tendered him the Kings pardon,
Saying.*

Here is the Kings gracious pardon.

To which Mr. *Challenger* replied,

Sir, I beseech you trouble me not with it.

Pray speak to my friends to take care of my corps, and carry me home.

Whereupon Mr. *Peters* said to him, You are now before the Lord of Heaven, if you have any thing about the Lords, you spoke of so often last night, I beseech you speak your Conscience.

Mr. *Challenger* answering thus, Gentlemen, It is the happiest day that ever I had ;

I shall now (Gentlemen) declare a little more of the occasion of this, as I am desired by Mr. *Peters*, and to give him, and the world satisfaction.

It came from Mr. *Waller* under this notion, that if that we could make a moderate party here in *London*, to stand betwixt the gap, and in the gap, to unite the King and the Parliament, it would be a very acceptable work, for now the three Kingdoms lay a bleeding, and unlesse that were done, there was no hopes to unite them ; withall I made this Reply. Sir, if I could assure you of three parts of *London*, none of them should stir, unless we had the countenance of the Lords and Commons ; To this he replied, You shall have to countenance this business the whole House of Lords except three or four ; you shall have
divers

divers of the House of Commons, we were promised we should speak with these Lords; And in truth except we had spoken with these Lords, nothing could have been done; for Mr. *Abbot*, Mr. *Blinkeborne*, Mr. *Luntlot*, Mr. *King*, and my self agreed that we would not stir, til these Lords had declared themselves and would be engaged.

And now (Gentlemen) I have another thing to declare, which shall be in the behalf of those that are condemned; As Mr. *Waller* was the mouth from the Lords, as he did declare, so I was the unhappy instrument, from Mr. *Waller* to the rest; the sentence is now past, I desire if it might be, that it might be moved to the House, that no more might suffer in the cause. This is all I have to say, and desire your hearty prayers to God for me.

Then one Mr. *Smart* said unto him, Mr. *Challenor*, if you were to live longer, would you ever have done the like again?

Mr. *Challenor* Answered, I am thus far confident, that if it had pleased God to lend me life, I think I should have run another course, and I am confident of it; I hope this is the happiest day I ever saw, and I hope God is reconciled to me, in my Saviour Jesus Christ; that hath given me repentance, and I am confident he will return my prayer for me.

Then at his request Mr. *Peters* prayed very fervently and devoutly with him: after his prayer was ended, Mr. *Challenor* spake these words.

Gentlemen, I do from my heart forgive you and all the world, desiring you and all the world to forgive me also, and so I commend my soul into the hands of my God.

Sir,

Sir *Alexander Carew* (Baronet) his Trial, together with his Speech upon the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, immediately before his execution, on Munday Decemb. 23. 1644.

ON Tuesday, Novemb. 19. 1644. By the Court then sitting in Guild-hall London, (Sir John Corbet being President of the Court) Sir Alexander Carew Baronet was tryed. The effect of the Charge against him was, that he the said Alexander Carew being Governour of the Island of St. Nicolas near Plymouth, and of the Forces therein for the Parliament, did hold correspondency with the Enemy, both by private Treaties and by Letters, and endeavoured the yeilding of that Island and Fort to the Enemy, as appears by divers of his Letters to Colonel Edgcombe, and Major Scowen, of the Enemies party, which Charge was grounded upon the 2. and 7. Articles in the Ordinances of Parliament for Martial Law. Secondly, that whereas Sir George Chidleigh was pitcht upon as Governour for that Island, and for that purpose he had a Commission from the Earl of Essex, and by deputation from him by consent of Parliament, the Charge and government thereof was intrusted upon Sir Alexander Carew, but by the said Alexander Carew, as is justly proved by divers Witnesses the designe was plotted & contrived. After his heart was possessed with these Treaties with the Enemy, it soon vented it self into outward expression: First, by open'y declaring his resolution to hold this Island for the King; & then by indeavouring to put that resolution in practice. Many other circumstances were alleaged against him to this purpose, and made good against him by divers Witnesses: viz. Mr. Fran-

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ces,

ces, the Mayor of Plymouth, Mr. Willis and Mr. Randall, both Ministers, Robert Roe, Captain John Hancock, Mr. Perce, Mr. Deep Merchants, Arthur Skinner, besides divers of his own Soldiers. All which by their several Depositions did clearly prove his said design to betray the Island to the Enemy: Many of which actions as aforesaid, though clearly proved and testified upon oath, the said Sir Alex. Carew denied, and pleaded that the Ordinance of Parliament did look forward, and not backward, and that he ought not to be tried by them.

Unto which Mr. Mills Advocate of the Court, replied :

1. That your defence was grounded upon the Ordinance of Parliament, which they hold not onely insufficient, but to reflect upon the wisdom and justice of the Parliament.

2. That the exception grew upon a great mistake: for the two Articles which they proceeded against you, is upon the second and seventh Articles, which are very clear against you, viz. the second and seventh, Whosoever shall plot, &c. (as in the Article) both look back as well as forward, and these Articles do not create a new, but only declare the punishment of what was before, which by all the Laws Civill is death, and treachery and treason, which is your case; which is a Law to be taken notice of and known by all commanders in Armies. For the Proviso in the Ordinance, it is plain in it self.

After which the Sentence of the Court was pronounced.

The Sentence against Sir Alexander Carew Baronet.

Sir Alexander Carew Baronet, You have been arraigned

raigned and convicted before this honorable Court Martial, That you being a Commander in the service of the Parliament, and particularly Commander of St. Nicolas Island and the Forces there, have traiterously deserted your trust, and perfidiously plotted, and combined, and indeavoured to betray the said Isle and Forces to the Enemy, For which the honorable Court Martial doth adjudge you to death, by having your head severed from your body.

According to which Sentence of the Court, upon Munday 23. of December 1644. Sir Alex. Carew Barones was brought from the Tower by the Lieutenant and his officers to Tower-Hill, attended by three Companies of the trained Bands of the City, where being come upon the scaffold (after some conference with the Ministers) he addressed himself to the people there present.

Sir Alexander Carew's Speech on the Scaffold.

Gentlemen:

I Hope you will (in consideration of my weak body) not expect that I should speak much to you, neither is it my part to discourse (nor my desire) of my actions, and to justify my self, but I shall rather confess as the poor Publican did, *God be mercifull to me a sinner.* I desire your prayers to God for me, and I pray to God for you, that no one drop of my blood may be required at any mans hands. I forgive all the world, with as full and free heart as mortall man can; and I beseech God in heaven to forgive me mine, the God of heaven and earth, that seeth, heareth, and beholderth, knowes that I lie not. I have desired with unfained desire and hearty affection to be dissolved and to be with Christ, knowing
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that it shall be better for me, being assured thereby to be freed from the miseries of sin, and enter into a better life. It was the last words of my Grandfather, and here of my Father, the assurance of their eternal peace and happinesse after the dissolution of this body of theirs, in which they lived here on earth: it is mine likewise; I have no more to say, but humbly take my leave of you.

Upon the conclusion of his Speech he desired the People then present to joyn with him in singing the 23. Psalm, which he read very distinctly to them, and joyned with them with much fervency therein. The Psalm being ended he put on his Cap; and unbuttoned himself, and with much resolution laid his head on the block. The Executioner at two blows severed his head from his body.

Captain Hotham's Speech on the Scaffold on Tower-Hill immediately before his Execution, Wednesday, January 1. 1644.

Gentlemen,

YOU see here in what condition I stand, you all come here to look upon me as a Spectacle of shame and Justice: And I believe a great many of you are possesst with very great Crimes that I have committed of Treason against the Parliament. Those things I must declare to you all; that this Conscience knows no guilt of; I did ingage my self in the Parliaments cause, I did them service in possessing of *Hull*; I preserved their Forts and Magazines, I preserved their Towns and Forces wheresoever they came, and never miscarried. It hath pleased God to bring

bring me to this end for my sins to him, which I acknowledge to be just, but not for any sins that I have committed in Treason against the Parliament; Neither do I know any Treason or intention of Treason in my poor Father that lies in the same condition that I do, whatsoever other men do call Treason. This I testifie to you all here: some few words more he spake to this purpose. After the Executioner did his office.

Sir John Hotham's Speech on the Scaffold on Tower-hill, immediately before his Execution, Thursday, January 2. 1644.

H*E being come upon the Scaffold with Mr. Peters and other Ministers and his Friends, Mr. Peters spake these words on his behalf to the people near the Scaffold.*

Gentlemen,

It is the desire of Sir John Hotham, That since he hath in his chamber fully discovered to divers Ministers his mind fully and clearly, that many questions may not be put to him here, but that he may seriously and quietly speak what he is guilty of, and what he is guiltless in, and so the Lord direct him.

Sir John Hotham's Speech.

Gentlemen,

I*Know no more of my self, but this, That I deserve this Death from God Almighty, and that I deserve damnation, and the severest punishments from him.*

him. As for the business of *Hull*, the betraying of it from the Parliament, the Ministers have all been with me, and given me good counsell, I thank them; Neither was I any waies guilty of it, that's all I can say to that Act. For other offences, rash words, anger, and such things, no man hath been more guilty. I beseech God to forgive me, I have received as many favours as any man from God, and I have been as ingrateful as any man could be; and God Almighty (I hope) has forgiven me my sins, and I desire you all to pray to God for me, that I may be forgiven.

I hope God Almighty will forgive the Parliament and the Court Martial, and all men that have had
 * He was here- any thing to do with my death. And
 unto moved by Gentlemen, I thank this Noble *
Mr. Peters.

Gentleman for putting me in mind of it, and I pray God bring more things to my memory; and Gentlemen, look to it all as I; I have received many mercies, I have been ingrateful to God Almighty, and God Almighty hath let me see that though for this offence, whereof I am accused, he hath not done it, yet he hath brought this affliction upon me, to save my soul (by Christ Jesus merits) for alas this affliction is nothing to all my sins, God Almighty kept me from my Trial at *St. Albans*, and other places, to bring me to this, that I hope I shal glorifie God in: And his blessed name be ever glorified.

Then *Mr. Peters* added,

THis is that I have now to say. It hath been my Lot to spend much time with Sir John Hotham: Gentlemen, this is that he would have me to declare unto you, that you may see in him the vanity of all things here below; he hath lived in abundance of plenty, and
 his

his estate hath been very large, he hath been a man of 3000*l.* a year, and he had much money by him: in the beginning of his daies he was a Souldier in the Low-Countries, at the battel at Prague: he does profess, that in the places he lived in (in the North part of England) there was much ignorance through want of faithfull Preachers; And I do wonder at it, since the Reprieve came, I have found the mercy of God revealed to him more, every day then other, especially by means of the Ministers whose bosomes God hath opened towards him.

Pray, be pleased to take notice of his desire, that you should see by him the vanity of wit, parts, promesse, strength or honour, or any thing that comes by men.

After this he said, Sir John Hocham desired him to let him know, that upon his first going out a Souldier, his Father seeing him on Horse-back, spake to him thus.

Son, when the Crown of England lies at stake, then you will have fighting enough without going out of the land.

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The Speech or Sermon of the most Reverend Father in God, *William* Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Immediately before his Execution on the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, *January 10. 1644.*

Upon *H. B. 12. 1, 2.*

Let us run with patience that race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the Crosse, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the Throne of God.

Good People !

You'll pardon my old Memory, and upon so sad occasions as I am come to this place, to make use of my papers, I dare not trust my self otherwise.

Good People ! This is a very uncomfortable time to preach in, and yet I shall begin with a Text of Scripture, in the twelfth of the *Hebrewes*.

Let us run with patience that race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the Crosse, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the Throne of God.

* *An. Al. 72:* I have been long in my race, * and how I have looked unto Jesus the Author
thor

thor and finisher of my faith, is best known to him. I am now come to the end of my race, and here I find the Crosse, a death of shame, but the shame must be despised, or there is no coming to the right hand of God; Jesus despis'd the shame for me, and God forbid but I should despise the shame for him. I am going apace, as you see, towards the Red-sea, and my feet are upon the very brinks of it, an argument, I hope, that that God is bringing me to the Land of Promise, for that was the way by which of old he led his people; But before they came to the Sea, he instituted a passe-over for them, a Lamb it was, but it was to be eaten with very sowre Herbs, as in the Twelfth of *Exodus*.

I shall obey, and labour to digest the sowre Herbs, as well as the Lamb, and I shall remember that it is the Lords Passeever; I shall not think of the Herbs, nor be angry with the hands that gathered them, but look up onely to him who instituted the one, and governeth the other: For men can have no more power over me, then that which is given them from above; I am not in love with this passage through the red-Sea, for I have the weaknesse and infirmity of flesh and blood in me, and I have prayed as my Saviour taught me, and exampled me, *Ut transires calix iste,*

That this Cup of red Wine might passe away from me; but since it is not that my will may, his will be done; and I shall most willingly drink of this Cup as deep as he pleases, and enter into this Sea, and passe through it, in the way that he will be pleased to lead me.

And yet (Good People) it would be remembred, That when the Servants of God, old *Israel*, were in this boisterous Sea, and *Aaron* with them, the Egyp-
tians

ans which persecuted them, and did in a manner drive them into that Sea, were drowned in the same waters, while they were in pursuit of them : I know my God whom I serve, is as able to deliver me from this Sea of Bloud, as he was to deliver three Children from the furnace, as *Daniel 3.*

And I most humbly thank my Saviour for it, my Resolution is now, as theirs was then ; their Resolution was, They would not worship the Image the KING had set up, nor shall I the Imaginations which the PEOPLE are setting up, nor will I forsake the Temple, and the truth of GOD, so follow the Bleating of *Jeroboams* Calves in *Dan* and in *Bethel*.

And I pray God blesse all this People, and open their eyes, that they may see the right way ; for if it fall out that the blind lead the blind, doubtlesse they will both into the ditch : For my self, I am, (and I acknowledge it in all humility) a most grievous sinner many waies, by thought, word and deed, and therefore I cannot doubt but that GOD hath mercy in store for me a poore penitent, as well as for other sinners. I have, upon this sad occasion, ransack'd every corner of my heart, and yet I thank God, I have not found any of my sins that are there, any sins now deserving death by any known Law of this Kingdom ; and yet thereby I charge nothing upon my Judges (I humbly beseech you I may rightly be understood, I charge nothing in the least degree upon my Judges) for they are to proceed by proof, by valuable Witnesses, and in that way I or any Innocent in the world may justly be condemned : And I thank God, though the weight of the Sentence lye very heavy upon me, yet I am as quiet within, as (I thank Christ for it) I ever was in my life : and
though

though I am not the first Archbishop, but the first man that ever dyed by an Ordinance of Parliament, yet some of my Predecessors have gone this way, though not by this means: for *Elfegus* was hurried away and lost his head by the *Danes*, and *Simon Sudbury* in the fury of *Wat Tyler* and his fellowes: And long before these *Saint John Baptist* had his head danced off by a lewd Woman, and *Saint Cyprian* Archbishop of *Cartage* submitted his head to a persecuting sword. Many examples great and good, for they teach me patience, and I hope my cause in Heaven will look of another dye then the colour that is put upon it here upon earth; and some comfort it is to me, not only that I go the way of these great men in their several Generations, but also that my charge (if I may not be partiall) looks somewhat like that against *Saint Paul* in the 24. of the *Acts*, for he was accused for the Law and the Temple, that is the Law and Religion; and like that of *St. Stephen* in the sixth of the *Acts*, for breaking the Ordinances which *Moses* gave us, which Ordinances were Law and Religion: but you'll say, do I then compare my self with the integrity of *Saint Paul*, and *Saint Stephen*? no, God forbid, far be it from me; I onely raise a comfort to my self, that these great Saints and servants of God were thus laid up in their severall times; And it is very memorable that *Saint Paul*, who was one of them, and a great one, that helped on the accusation against *Saint Stephen*, fell afterwards into the self-same accusation himself, yet both of them great Saints and servants of God; I but perhaps a great clamour there is, that I would have brought in Popery. I shall answer that more fully by and by, in the meantime, you know what the *Pharisees* said against Christ himself, in the eleventh of

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John, If we let him alone all men will believe him, Ecce veniunt Romani, and the Romanes will come and take away both our place and the Nation. Here was a causelesse cry against Christ that Romans would come, and see how just the Judgement of God was, they crucified Christ for fear lest the Romanes should come, his death was that that brought in the Romanes upon them, God punishing them with that which they most feared: and I pray God this clamour of *veniunt Romani*, (of which I have given to my knowledg no just cause) help not to bring him in; for the Pope never had such an harvest in England since the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and divisions that are among us; in the mean time, by honour and dishonour, by good report and evil report, as a *deceiver and yet true*, am I now passing out of this world. Some particulars also I think not amisse to speak of.

First, this I shall be bold to speak of the King, our gracious Sovereign, he hath been much traduced by some for labouring to bring in Popery, but upon my Conscience (of which I am now going to give God a present account) I know him to be as free from this Charge I think as any man living, and I hold him to be as sound a Protestant, according to the Religion by Law established as any man in this Kingdom, and that he will venture his Life as far and as freely for it; and I think I do, or should know both his affection to Religion, and his grounds upon which that affection is built, as fully as any man in England.

The second particular is concerning this great and populous City, which God blesse; here hath been of late a fashion taken up to gather hands, and then goe

to the Honourable and great Court of the Kingdome, the Parliament, and clamour for Justice, as if that great and wise Court, (before whom the causes come which are unknown to the many;) could not, or would not doe Justice, but at their call and appointment; a way which may endanger many an innocent man, and pluck innocent blood upon their own heads, and perhaps upon this City also, which God forbid: and this hath been lately practis'd against my self; God forgive the setters of this, with all my heart I begge it, but many well-meaning people are caught by it: In Saint *Seavens* case, when nothing else would serve, they stirred up the people against him, *Acts 6.* and *Herod* went just the self same way, for when he had kill'd Saint *James*, he would not venture upon Saint *Peter* too, till he saw how the people took it, and were pleased with it, in the 12. of the *Acts*. But take heed of having your hands full of blood, in the first of *Isaiah*; for there is a time best known to himself, when God among other sinnes makes inquisition for blood; and when Inquisition is on foot, the Psalmist tells us, *Psalm 9.* that God remembers, that is not all, *that God remembers and forgets not* (saith the Prophet) *the complaint of the poor*; and he tells you what poor they are in the ninth verse, the poor whose blood is shed by such kind of meanes: Take heed of this, *It is a fearfull thing* (at any time) *to fall into the hands of the living God*, in the 12. of the *Hebrews*: but it is fearfull indeed, & then especially, when he is making his Inquisition for blood, and therefore with my prayers to avert the Prophecie from the City, let me desire that this City would remember the Prophecie that is expressed, *Jeremiah 26. 15.*

The third particular, is this poor Church of England

land, that hath flourished and been a shelter to other neighbouring Churches, when stormes have driven upon them; but alas, now it is in a storme it self, and God knows whether or how it shall get out; and which is worse then a storme from without, it is become like an Oake cleft to shivers with wedges made out of its own body, and that in every cleft, ^{prophanesse and irreligion is creeping in apace; while as} * *Prosper*
 * Lib. 2. de vice *Concep. Cap. 4.* faith, men that introduce prophaneis are cloaked with a name of imaginary religion: for we have in a manner almost lost the substance, and dwell much, nay too much a great deal in Opinion; and that Church which all the Jesuites machinations in these parts of Christendome could not ruine, is now fallen into a great deal of danger by her own.

The last particular (for I am not willing to be tedious, I shall hasten to goe out of this miserable world) is my self, and I beseech you, as many as are within hearing, observe me, I was born and baptized in the bosome of the Church of *England*, as it stands yet established by Law, in that profession I have ever since lived; and in that profession of the Protestant Religion here established I come now to die; this is no time to dissemble with God, least of all in matter of Religion, and therefore I desire it may be remembered, I have always lived in the Protestant Religion established in *England*, and in that I come now to die: What Clamors and Slanders I have endured for labouring to keep an Uniformity in the external service of God according to the Doctrine and Discipline of this Church all men know, and I have abundantly felt: Now at last I am accused of high Treason in Parliament, a crime which my soul ever abhorred, this Treason was charged upon me to consist of

two parts, An endeavour to subvert the Law of the Realm, and a like endeavour to overthrow the true Protestant Religion established by those Laws. Besides my Answers which I gave to the severall Charges, I protested my innocency in both Houses; it was said, Prisoners protestations at the Barre must not be taken *de ipso*; I can bring no witnesse of my heart, and the intentions thereof, therefore I must come to my Protestation, not at the bar, but to my Protestation at this hour and instant of my death, in which (as I said before) I hope all men will be such charitable Christians as not to think I would die and dissemble my Religion, I doe therefore here, with that caution that I delivered before, without all prejudice in the world to my Judges, that are to proceed *secundum allegata & probata*, and so to be understood, I die in the presence of Almighty God and all his holy and blessed Angels, and I take it now on my death, that I never endeavoured the subversion of the Laws of the Realm, nor never any change of the Protestant Religion into Popish superstition: and I desire you all to remember this Protest of mine, for my innocency in these and from all manner of Treasons whatsoever.

I have been accused likewise as an enemy to Parliaments, no, God forbid, I understood them, and the benefits that come by them, a great deal too well to be so, but I did indeed dislike some misgovernments (as I conceived) of some few, one or two Parliaments; and I did conceive humbly that I might have reason for it, for *corruptio optimi est pessima*: There is no corruption in the world so bad as that which is of the best thing in it self, for the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is corrupted; and this being the highest and greatest Court, over which no other

other can have any jurisdiction in the Kingdome, if by any way a mis-government (which God forbid) should any ways fall upon it, the Subjects of this Kingdome are left without all manner of remedy, and therefore God preserve them, and bless them, and direct them, that there may be no mis-conceit, much lesse mis-government amongst them. I will not enlarge my self any further, I have done, I forgive all the world, all and every of those bitter enemies, or others whosoever they have been, which have any wayes prosecuted me in this kind, and I humbly desire to be forgiven first of God, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or no, if he doe but conceive that I have; Lord, doe thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveness of him, and so I heartily desire you to joyn with me in prayer.

**The Bishop of Canterburies first prayer
on the Scaffold.**

O Eternall God and mercifull Father, look down upon me in mercy, in the riches and fulnesse of all thy mercies look upon me, but not till thou hast nailed my sins to the Croſſ of Christ; look upon me, but not till thou hast bashed me in the blood of Christ, not till I have hid my self in the wounds of Christ, that so the punishment that is due to my sinnes may passe away and goe over me; and since thou art pleased to try me to the uttermost, I humbly beseech thee give me now in this great instant full patience, proportionable comfort, a heart ready to die for thine honour, the Kings happinesse, and the Churches preservation: and my zeal to these (farre from arrogancy be it spoken) is all the sin, (humane frailty excepted, and all incidents thereunto) which

which is yet known of me in this particular for which I now come to suffer, I say in this particular of Treason; but otherwise my sinnes are many and great, Lord prardon them all, and those especially whatsoever they be which have drawn down this present Judgment upon me; and when thou hast given me strength to bear it, then doe with me as seems best in thy own eyes; and carry me through death, that I may look upon it in what visage soever it shall appear to me, and that there may be a stop of this issue of blood in this more then miserable Kingdome. I shall desire that I may pray for the people too, as well as for my self: O Lord, I beseech thee, give grace of repentance to all people that have a thirst for blood, but if they will not repent, then scatter their devices so, and such as are or shall be contrary to the glory of thy great name, the truth and sincerity of Religion, the establishment of the King, and his Posterity after him, in their just Rights and Priviledges, the honour and conservation of Parliaments in their ancient and just power, the preservation of this poor Church in her truth, peace, and patrimony, and the settlement of this distracted and distressed people under their ancient Laws and in their native Liberties, and when thou hast done all this in meer mercy for them, O Lord fill their hearts with thankfullnesse, and with religious dutifull obedience to thee and thy Commandments all their daies: So Amen Lord Iesus; and I beseech thee receive my soul to mercy. Our Father which art in Heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdome come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation: but deliver us from evil. Amen.

When he had finished his Prayer, he gave his Pa-

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get to Doctor *Stern*, saying, Doctor, I give you this, that you may shew it to your Fellow-Chaplains, that they may see how I am gone out of the world, and Gods blessing and his mercy be upon them.

Then turning to Master *Hinde*, he said, Friend, I beseech you hear me, I cannot say I have spoken every word as it is in my Paper, but I have gone very neer it, to help my memory as well as I could; but I beseech you, let me have no wrong done me.

Hinde. Sir, you shall not, if I doe any wrong let it fall on my own head. I pray God have mercy on your soul.

Cant. I thank you: I did not speak with any jealousy, as if you would doe so, but I spake it onely as a poor man, going out of the world, it is not possible for me to keep to the words in my paper, and a phrase may doe me wrong.

I did think here would have been an empty Scaffold, that I might have had room to die: I beseech you let me have an end of this misery, for I have endured it long.

When room was made, he spake thus: Ile pull off my Doublet, and Gods will be done, I am willing to goe out of the world, no man can be more willing to send me out, then I am willing to be gone.

Sir John Clothworthy. What speciall Text of Scripture now is comfortable to a man in his departure?

Cant. *Cupio dissolvi & esse cum Christo.*

Sir John Clothworthy. That is a good desire, but there must be a foundation for that desire, as assurance.

Cant. No man can expresse it, it is to be found within.

Sir John Clothworthy. It is founded upon a word though, and that word would be known.

Cant.

Cant. That word is the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and that alone.

And turning to the Executioner, he gave him money; saying, here honest friend, God forgive thee, and doe thy office upon me in mercy.

The Executioner desired him to give some signe when he should strike, he answered: Yes, I will, but let me fit my self first.

Then kneeling down on his knees, he prayed thus:

The Arch-Bishops last prayer on the Scaffold.

Lord, I am coming as fast as I can, I know I must passe through the shadow of death before I can come to see thee, but it is but umbra mortis, a meer shadow of death, a little darknesse upon nature, but thou by thy merits and passion hast broke through the javes of death; so Lord receive my soul, and have mercy upon me, and blesse this Kingdome with peace and with plenty, and wish brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them, for Jesus Christ sake, if it be thy will.

And when he said, Lord receive my soul, (which was his signe) the Executioner did his office.

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The severall Speeches of Duke *Hamilton* Earl of *Cambridge*, the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capell*, immediately before their execution upon the Scaffold in the Palace yard *Westminster*, on Friday March 9, 1649.

Duke *Hamilton* Earl of *Cambridg*, his Speech on the Scaffold; March 9. 1649.

UPon Friday the ninth of this instant, being the day appointed for the Execution of the sentence of Death upon the Earl of *Cambridge*, the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capel*, about ten of Clock that morning L. Col. *Beecher* came with his Order to the severall Prisoners at St. *James's*, requiring them to come away; According to which Order they were carried in Sedans, with a Guard, to Sir *Thomas Cottons* house at *Westminster*, where they continued about the space of two hours, passing away most of that time in religious and seasonable conferences with the Ministers, there present with them. After which, being called away to the Scaffold, it was desired, that before they went they might have the opportunity of commending their Souls to God by prayer, which being readily granted, and the room voided, Mr. *Bolton* was desired by the Lord of *Holland* to take that pains with them, which was accordingly done with great appearance of solemn Affections

fections among them. Prayer being concluded, and hearty thanks returned by them all to the Ministers who performed, as also to the rest who were their Assistants in this sad time of trouble; the Earl of *Cambridge* prepared first to go towards the place of Execution; and (after mutual embraces, and some short ejaculatory expressions, to and for his fellow-sufferers, he took his leave of them all, and went along with the Officers, attended upon by Dr. *Sibbald*, whom he had chosen for his Comforter in this his sad condition.

The Scaffold being erected in the new Palace-yard at *Westminster*, over against the great Hal-Gate, in the sight of the place where the High-Court of Justice formerly sat (the Hal-doors being open;) there was his Excellencies Regiment of Horse commanded by Capt. *Disser* and several Companies of Col. *Hewsons* and Col. *Prides* Regiments of Foot drawn up in the place: When the Earl came from *Westminster* Hall neer the Scaffold, he was met by the Undersheriff of *Middlesex*, and a Guard of his men, who took the charge of him from Lieut. Col. *Beecher* and the Partizans that were his Guard; The Sheriff of *London* being also, according to command from the High Court of Justice, present, to see the Execution performed.

The Earl of *Cambridge* being come upon the Scaffold, and two of his own servants waiting upon him, he first spake to the Doctor as followeth.

E. of *Camb.* Whether shall I pray first?

Dr. *Sibbald.* As your Lordship pleases.

E. of *Camb.* My Lord of *Denbigh* has sent to speak with me.

I know not the faction, I may ask you Sir; Doe those Gentlemen expect I should say any thing to

them, or no, they cannot hear ?

Dr. Sibbald. There will be a greater silence by and by. It will not be amiss, if your Lordship defer your speaking till you hear from his Lordship.

Camb. There is something in it. He was with the House.

Dr. Sibbald. I suppose he would give no interruption to your Lordship, at this time, were there not something of concernment in it.

Camb. He is my Brother, and has been a very faithful servant to the State, and he was in great esteem and reputation with them.

He is in the Hall, and sent to speak with a servant of mine to send something to me.

Sibbald. It will not lengthen the time much if you stay while you have a return from him. My Lord, you should do well to bestow your time now in meditating upon, and imploring of the free mercy of God in Christ for your eternal Salvation, and look upon that ever-streaming Fountain of his precious Blood, that purgeth us from all our sins, even the sins of the deepest dye : the Blood of Jesus Christ washes away all our sins, and that Blood of Christ is powred forth upon all such as by a lively Faith lay hold upon him : God so loved the World that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end, that whosoever believed in him should not perish, but have everlasting life ; that is now, my Lord, the Rock upon which you must chiefly rest, and labour to fix yourself in the free mercy of God through Christ Jesus, whose mercies are from everlasting to everlasting, unto all such as with the eye of Faith behold him ; behold Jesus the Author and Finisher of your Salvation, who hath satisfied the Justice of God by that All-sufficiency of his Sacrifice, which
once

once for all he offered upon the Cross for the sins of the whole world, so that the sting of death is taken away from all Believers, and he hath sanctified it as a passage to everlasting blessedness: It is true, the waters of *Jordan* run somewhat rough and surly, betwixt the Wilderness and our passage into *Canaan*, but let us rest upon the Ark (my Lord) the Ark Christ Jesus, that will carry us through, and above all those waves to that Rock of ages, which no flood nor waves can reach unto, and to him who is yesterday, to day, and the same for ever, against whom the powers and principalities, the gates of Hell, shall never be able to prevail; lift up and fasten your eyes now upon Christ crucified; and labour to behold Jesus stand at the right hand of his Father, (as the Protomartyr *Stephen*) ready to receive your soul, when it shall be separated from this frail and mortal body: Alas, no man would desire life, if he knew beforehand what it were to live, it is nothing but sorrow, vexation and trouble, grief and discontent that waits upon every condition, whether publick or private; in every station and calling there are several miseries and troubles that are inseparable from them; therefore what a blessed thing it is to have a speedy and comfortable passage out of this raging Sea, into the Port of everlasting Happiness; We must passe through a Sea, but it is the Sea of Christs Bloud, in which never soul suffered shipwreck, in which we must be blown with winds and tempests, but they are the Gales of Gods Spirit upon us, which blow away all contrary winds of diffidence in his mercy.

Here one acquainting the Earl, his servant was coming, he answered, So Sir; And turning to the under-Sheriffs Son, said,

Cambridg. Sir, you have your Warrant here?

Sheriff. Yes, my Lord, we have a Command.

Cambridg. A Command.

I take this time, Sir, of staying, in regard of the Earl of *Denbighs* sending to speak with me, I know not for what it is he desires me to stay.

Dr. Sibbald. I presume Mr. Sheriff will not grudge your Lordship a few minutes time, when so great a work as this is in hand.

His Lordships servant being returned, and having delivered his message to the Earl of *Cambridg* privately, he said; So, it is done now: and then turning to the front of the Scaffold, before which (as in all the rest of the Palaces) there was a great concourse of people, he said;

Cambridg. I think it is truly not very necessary for me to speak much, there are many Gentlemen and Souldiers there that sees me, but my voyce truly is so weak, so low that they cannot hear me, neither truly was I ever at any time so much in love with speaking, or with any thing I had to express, that I took delight in it; yet this being the last time that I am to do so, by a divine Providence of Almighty God, who hath brought me to this end justly for my sins; I shall to you Sir, Mr. Sheriff, declare thus much, as to the matter that I am now to suffer for which is as being a Traytor to the Kingdom of *England*: Truly, Sir, it was a Country that I equally loved with my own, I made no difference; I never intended either the generality of its prejudice, or any particular mans in it; what I did was by the Command of the Parliament of the Country where I was born, whose Commands I could not disobey, without running into the same hazard there of that condition that I am now in: The ends, Sir, of that Engage-

Engagement is publick, they are in Print, and so I shall not need to specify them.

Dr. Sibbald. The Sun perhaps will be too much in your Lordships face, as you speak.

Cambridg. No Sir, it will not burn it. I hope I shall see a brighter Sun then this, Sir, very speedily.

Dr. Sibbald. The Sun of Righteousnesse my Lord.

Cambridg. (But to that which I was saying Sir.) It pleased God so to dispose that Army under my Command, as it was ruined; and I, as their General, clothed with a Commission, stand here now ready to dye; I shall not trouble you with repeating of my Plea, what I said in my own Defence at the Court of *JUSTICE*, my self being satisfied with the commands that is laid upon me, and they satisfied with the Justnesse of their procedure; according to the Laws of this Land. God is just, and howsoever I shall not say any thing as to the matter of the sentence, but that I do willingly submit to his Divine Providence, and I acknowledg that very many ways I deserve even a worldly punishment, as well as hereafter; for we are all sinful, Sir, and I a great one: yet for my comfort, I know there is a God in heaven that is exceeding merciful; I know my Redeemer sits at his Right Hand, and am confident, (clapping his hand to his Breast) is Mediating for me at this instant; I am hopeful through his free grace, and all-sufficient merits, to be pardoned of my sins, and to be received into his mercy; upon that I rely, trusting to nothing but the Free Grace of God through Jesus Christ: I have not been tainted with my Religion, I thank God for it, since my infancy, it hath been such as hath been profest in the Land, and established; and now 'tis not this Religion, or that Religion, or this or that Fancy of

of men that is to be built upon; 'tis but one that's right, one that's sure, and that comes from God. Sir, and in the free grace of our Saviour. Sir, there is truly

something that (* had I thought my
 * Observing the Writers. Speech would have been thus taken) I would have digested it into some better method then now I can, and shall desire these Gentlemen that do write it, that they will not wrong me in it, and that it may not in this manner be published to my disadvantage, for truly I did not intend to have spoken thus when I came here.

There is, fits, terrible aspersions has been laid upon my self; truly such as I thank God, I am very free from; as if my actions and intentions had not been such as they were pretended for; but that notwithstanding what I pretended it was for the King, there was nothing less intended then to serve him in it, I was bred with him for many years, I was his domestick servant, and there was nothing declar'd by the Parliament, that was not really intended by me; and truly in it I ventured my life one way, and now I lose it another way; and that was one of the ends, as to the King; I speak onely of that; because the rest has many particulars, and to clear my self from so horrid an aspersion as is laid upon me: neither was there any other design known to me by the incoming of the Army, then what is really in the Declaration published. His person, I do profess, I had reason to love, as he was my King, and as he had been my master: it has pleased God now to dispose of him, so as it cannot be thought flattery to have said this; or any end in me for the saying of it, but to free my self from that calumny which lay upon me: I cannot gain by it; yet Truth is that which we shall gain by for ever.

There

There hath been much spoken Sir, of an invitation into this Kingdom: it's mentioned in that *Declaration*; and truly to that I did and do remit my self: and I have been very much laboured for discoveries of these Inviters. 'Tis no time to dissemble. How willingly I was to have served this Nation in any thing that was in my power, is known to very many honest, pious, and religious men; and how ready I would have been to have done what I could to have served them, if it had pleased them to have preserved my life, in whose hands there was a power: They have not thought it fit, and so I am become unuseful in that which willingly I would have done. As I said at first, (Sir) so I say now concerning that point; I wish the Kingdoms happiness, I wish it peace; and truly Sir, I wish that this blood of mine may be the last that is drawn; and howsoever I may perhaps have some reluctancy with my self as to the matter of my fact, for my suffering, for my fact, yet I freely forgive all; Sir, I carry no rancour along with me to my grave; His Will be done that has created both Heaven and Earth, and me a poor miserable sinful creature now speaking before him. For me to speak (Sir) to you of State-business, and the Government of the Kingdom, or my opinion in that, or for any thing in that nature, truly it is to no end, it contributes nothing; My own inclination hath been to peace, from the beginning; and it is known to many that I never was an ill instrument betwixt the King and his people; I never acted to the prejudice of the Parliament; I bore no Arms, I medled not with it; I was not wanting by my prayers to God Almighty for the happiness of the King; and truly I shall pray still, that God may so direct him, as that may be done which shall tend

to his glory, & the peace & happiness of the Kingdom.

I have not much more to say that I remember of ;
I think I have spoken of my Religion.

D. Sibbald. Your Lordship has not so fully said it.

Camb. Truly, I do believe I did say something.

D. Sibbald. I know you did, 'tis p'casing to hear it
from your Lordship again.

Camb. Truly, Sir, for the profession of my Religion,
that which I said was the established Religion, and
that which I have practised in my own Kingdom
where I was born and bred ; my Tenents they need
not to be exprest, they are known to all, and I am
not of a rigid opinion ; many godly men there is that
may have scruples, which do not concern me at all
at no time ; they may differ in Opinion, and now
more then at any time ; differing in Opinion does
not move me (not any mans) my own is clear. Sir,
The Lord forgive me my sins, and I forgive freely
all those that even I might (as a worldly man) have
the greatest animosity against ; We are bidden to
forgive ; Sir, 'Tis a command laid upon us (and there
mentioned,) *Forgive us our Trespases, as we forgive
them that trespass against us.*

D. Sibb. 'Tis our Saviours rule, Love your Enemies,
Bless them that Curse you, pray for them that persecute
you, do good to them that despightfully use you.

Camb. Sir, it is high time for me to make an end
of this ; and truly I remember no more that I have
to say, but to pray to God Almighty a few words,
and then I have done.

Then kneeling down with *D. Sibbald*, he prayed
thus.

Most Blessed Lord, I thy poor and most unworthy
servant come unto thee, presuming in thy infi-

nite Mercy, and the Merits of Jesus Christ, who sits upon the Throne; I come flying from that of Justice, to that of Mercy and Tenderneß, for his Sake which shed his blood for sinners, that he would take Compassion upon me, that he will look upon me as one that graciously hears me, that he would look upon me as one that hath Redeemed me; that he would look upon me as one that hath shed his blood for me; that he would look upon me as one who now calls and hopes to be saved by his All-sufficient merits. For his sake (Glorious God) have Compassion upon me in the Freeneß of thy infinite Mercy, that when this sinful soule of mine shall depart out of this frail Carcaß of Clay, I may be carried into thy Everlasting Glory; O Lord, by thy Free Grace, and out of thy infinite mercy hear me, and look down, and have Compassion upon me; and thou Lord Jesus, thou my Lord, and thou my God, and thou my Redeemer, hear me, take pity upon me, take pity upon me, gracious God, and so deal with my soule, that by thy precious merits I may attain to thy joy and blis; O Lord, remember me, so miserable and sinful a creature; now thou, O Lord, thou (O Lord) that dyed for me, receive me, and receive me into thy own bound of mercy; O Lord, I trust in thee, suffer me not now to be confounded; Satan has had too long possession of this soule, O let him not now prevail against it, but let me (O Lord) from henceforth dwell with thee for evermore.

Now Lord, it is thy time to hear me, hear me gracious Jesus, even for thy own Goodneß, Mercy, and Truth; O Glorious God, O Blessed Father, O Holy Redeemer, O Gracious Comforted, O Holy and Blessed Trinity, I do render up my soule into thy hands, and commit it with the Mediation of my Redeemer, Praising thee for all thy Dispensations that it
has

has pleas'd thee to confer upon me, and even for this, Praise, and Honour, and Thanks, from this time forth, for evermore.

D. Sibbald, *My Lord, I trust you now behold with the Eye of Faith, the Son of Righteousness shining upon your soul, and will cheerfully submit unto him who hath Redeemed us through his Blood, even the Blood of Jesus Christ; that you may appear at the Tribunal of God, clothed with the White Robe of his Unspotted Righteousness; the Lord grant that with the Eye of Faith you may now see the Heavens opened, and Jesus Christ standing at the Right Hand of God, ready to receive you into his Arms of Mercy.*

Camb. Then the Earl turning to the Executioner, said, Shall I put on another Cap? Must this Hair be turn'd up from my Neck? There are three of my servants to give satisfaction.

D. Sibbald, *My Lord, I hope you are able to give all that are about you satisfaction, you are assured that God is reconciled unto you through the Blood of Christ Jesus, and the Spirit of the Lord witnesseth to you, that Christ is become now a Jesus unto you. My Lord, fasten the Eyes of your Faith upon Jesus, the Author and Finisher of your Salvation, who himself was brought to a violent death for the Redemption of Mankind; he cheerfully submitted to his Fathers good pleasure; in it, and for us; Blessed and holy is he that hath part (my Lord) in the first resurrection; that is, in the first Riser, Jesus Christ, who is both the Resurrection, and the Life; over him, the second death shall have no power; 'Tis the unspeakable joy of a Believer, that at the hour of death his soul hath an immediate passage from this earthly Tabernacle to that Region of endless glory, yea to the presence of God himself,*

self, in whose presence is fulness of joy, and at whose right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

Then the E. of *Cambridge* turning to the Executioner said, which way is it that you would have me lie? Sir.

Execut. The Executioner pointing to the front of the Scaffold, the Earl replied, What, my Head this way? Then the Under-Sheriffs son said, my Lord, the Order is, that you should lay your head towards the High Court of Justice.

The E. of *Cambridge* after a little discourse in private with some of his servants, kneeled down on the side of the Scaffold, and prayed a while to himself.

When he had finisht his prayer, D. *Sibbald* spake to him thus;

My Lord, *I humbly beseech God that you may now with a holy and Christian courage give up your soul to the hand of your faithful Creator and gracious Redeemer; and not be dismayed with any sad apprehension of the terrors of this death; and what a blessed and glorious exchange you shall make within a very few minutes.*

Then with a chearfull and smiling countenance, the Earl embracing the Doctor in his Arms, said.

Camb. Truly Sir, I do take you in mine Arms, and truly I bless God for it, I do not fear, I have an assurance that is grounded here (laying his hand upon his heart.) Now that gives me more true joy then ever I had, I pass out of a miserable world to go into an eternal and glorious Kingdome; and Sir, though I have been a most sinful creature, yet Gods mercy I know is infinire, and I bless my God for it, I go with so clear a Conscience, that I know not the man that I have personally injured.

D.

D. Sibbald. My Lord, it is a marvellous great satisfaction that at this last hour you can say so, I beseech the Lord for his eternal mercy strengthen your Faith, that in the very moment of your Dissolution, you may see the Arms of the Lord Jesus stretched out ready to receive your soul.

Then the Earl of Cambridge embracing those his Servants which were there present, said to each of them, You have been very faithful to me, and the Lord bless you,

Camb. Then turning to the Executioner, said, I shall say a very short Prayer to my God, while I lie down there; and when I stretch out my hand (my right hand) then, Sir, do your Duty; and I do freely forgive you, and so I do all the world.

D. Sibbald. The Lord in great mercy go along with You, and bring You to the possession of everlasting life, strengthening Your Faith in Jesus Christ. This is a passage, My Lord, a short passage unto eternal glory. I hope, through the free grace of Your gracious God, You are now able to say, O Death, where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy Victory? and to make this comfortable answer, Blessed be God, blessed be God, who hath given me an assurance of victory through Christ Jesus.

Then the Earl of Cambridge said to the Executioner, Must I lie all along?

Execut. Yes, and't please your Lordship,

Camb. When I stretch out my hands——— but I will fit my head, first tell me if I be right, and how you would have me lie.

Ex. Your shirt must be pinn'd back, for it lie too high upon your shoulders, (which was done accordingly.)

D. Sibbald. My Lord, Now, now lift up Your eyes

unto Jesus Christ, and cast Your self now into the everlasting Arms of Your gracious Redeemer.

Then the Earl having laid his head over the Block, said, Is this right?

D. Sibbald, Jesus the Son of David have mercy upon You.

Execut. Lie a little lower Sir.

Camb. Well, Stay then till I give you the signe.

And so having layn a short space devoutly praying to himself, he stretched out his right hand, whereupon the Executioner at one blow severed his head from his body, which was received by two of his servants then kneeling by him, into a Crimson Taffary Scarf, and that with the body immediately put into a Coffin brought upon the Scaffold for that purpose, and from thence conveyed to the house that was Sir John Hamiltons at the Mews.

This execution being done, the Sheriffs Guard went immediately to meet the Earl of *Holland*, which they did in the mid-way between the Scaffold and Westminster-Hall, and the Under-Sheriffs son having received him into his charge, conducted him to the Scaffold, he taking M. *Bolton* all the way in his hand, passed all along to the Scaffold discoursing together; upon which being come, observing his voice would not reach to the people, in regard the Guard compassed the Scaffold, he said;

H

Henry

*Henry Lord Rich, Earl of Holland, His Speech
on the Scaffold, immediately before his Death,
March 9. 1649.*

Holland.

IT is to no purpose (I think) to speak any thing here. Which may must I speak? And then being directed to the front of the Scaffold, he (leaning over the Rayls) said; I think it is fit to say something, since God hath called me to this place. The first thing which I must profess, is, what concerns my Religion, and my Breeding, which hath been in a good Family, that hath ever been faithful to the true Protestant Religion, in the which I have been bred, in the which I have lived, and in the which by Gods grace and mercy I shall dye. I have not lived according to that Education I had in that Family where I was born and bred. I hope God will forgive me my sins, since I conceive it is very much his pleasure to bring me to this place, for the sins that I have committed. The cause that hath brought me hither, I believe by many hath been much mistaken. They have conceived that I have had ill Designs to the State, and to the Kingdome; Truly I look upon it as a Judgement, and a just Judgement of God; not but I have offended so much the State, and the Kingdome, and the Parliament, as that I have had an extream vanity in serving them very extraordinarily. For those Actions that I have done, I think it is known they have

have been ever very faithful to the Publike, and very particularly to Parliaments. My Affections have been ever exprest truly and clearly to them. The dispositions of Affairs now have put things in another posture then they were when I was engaged with the Parliament. I have never gone off from those Principles that ever I have professed; I have lived in them, and by Gods grace will die in them. There may be Alterations and Changes that may carry them further then I thought reasonable; and truly there I left them: But there hath been nothing that I have said, or done, or professed, either by Covenant or Declaration, which hath not been very constant, and very clear, upon the principles that I ever have gone upon; which was, to serve the King, the Parliament, Religion, (I should have said in the first place) the Commonwealth, and to seek the Peace of the Kingdome; That made me think it no improper time, being prest out by Accidents and Circumstances, to seek the Peace of the Kingdome, which I thought was proper, since there was something then in Agitation, but nothing agreed on for sending Propositions to the King; that was the furthest aym that I had, and truly beyond that I had no intention, none at all. And God be praised, although my blood comes to be shed here, there was I think scarce a drop of blood shed in that Action that I was engaged in. For the present Affairs as they are, I cannot tell how to judge of them; and truly they are in such a condition, as (I conceive) no body can make a judgment of them; and therefore I must make use of Prayers, rather then of my Opinion; which are, That God would bless this Kingdome, this Nation, this State; that he would settle it in a way agreeable to what this Kingdome hath been happily governed

under ; by a King, by the Lords, by the Commons ; a Government that I conceive it hath flourished much under, and I pray God the change of it bring not rather a prejudice, a disorder, and a confusion, then the contrary. I look upon the Posterity of the King, and truly my Conscience directs me to it, to desire, that if God be pleased, that these People may look upon them with that Affection that they owe, that they may be called in again, and they may be, not through blood, nor through disorder, admitted again into that power, and to that glory, that God in their Birth intended to them. I shall pray with all my soul for the happiness of this State, of this Nation, that the blood which is here spilt, may even be the last that may fall among us ; and truly I should lay down my life with as much cheerfulness as ever person did, if I conceived that there would be no more blood follow us ; for a State, or Affairs that are built upon blood, is a foundation for the most part that doth not prosper.

After the blessing that I give to the Nation, to the Kingdome, and truly to the Parliament, I do wish with all my heart, happiness, and a blessing to all those that have been Authors in this business ; and truly, that have been Authors in this very work that bringeth us hither : I do not only forgive them, but I pray heartily and really for them ; as God will forgive my sins, so I desire God may forgive them.

I have a particular relation, as I am Chancellour of *Cambridge*, and truly I must here, since it is the last of my prayers, pray to God that that University may go on in that happy way which it is in, that God may make it a Nursery to plant those persons that may be distributed to the Kingdom, that the souls of the people may receive a great benefit, and a great advantage by

by them, and (I hope) God will reward them for their kindness, and their affections that I have found from them. * I have said what Religion I have been bred in, what Religion I have been ^{* Looking towards} born in, what Religion I have practised, I ^{M. Bolton,} began with it, and I must end with it. I told you that my actions and my life have not been agreeable to my Breeding. I have told you likewise that the Family where I was bred, hath been an exemplary Family (I may say so I hope, without vanity) of much affection to Religion, and of much faithfulness to this Kingdom and to this State, I have indeavoured to do those actions that became an honest man, and a good English-man, and which became a good Christian. I have been willing to oblige those that have been in trouble, those that have been in persecution, and truly I find a great reward of it; for I have found their prayers, and their kindnesse now in this distressee, and in this condition, and I think it a great reward, I pray God reward them for it.

I am a great sinner, and I hope God will be pleased to hear my prayers, to give me faith to trust in him, that as he hath called me to death at this place, he will make it but a passage to an eternal life through Jesus Christ, which I trust to, which I rely upon, and which I expect by the mercy of God. And so I pray God bless you all, and send that you may see this to be the last execution, and the last blood that is likely to be spilt among you. And then turning to the side-rayl, he prayed for a good space of time; after which M. Bolton said;

My Lord, Now look upon him whom you have trusted. My Lord, I hope that here is your last prayer, there will no more prayers remain, but praises: And I hope that after

this day is over, there will a day begin that shall never have end; And I look upon this (my Lord) the morning of it, the morning of that day. My Lord, You know where your fulness lies, where your riches lie, where is your only rock to anchor on. You know there is fulness in Christ; If the Lord comes not in with fulness of Comfort to You, yet resolve to wait upon him while You live, and to trust in him when You die; and then say, I will die here, I will perish at thy feet, I will be found dead at the feet of Jesus Christ. Certainly, he that came to seek and save lost sinners, will not reject lost sinners when they come to seek him; He that entreateth us to come, will not slight us when we come to entreat him. My Lord, there is enough there, and fix your heart there, and fix Your Eyes there, that Eye of Faith, and that Eye of Hope; Exercise these Graces now, there will be no exercise hereafter. As Your Lordship said, Here take an end of Faith, and take an end of Hope, and take a Farewel of Repentance; and all these, and welcome God, and welcome Christ, and welcome Glory, and welcome Happiness to all Eternity; and so it will be a happy passage then; if it be a passage here from misery to happiness. And though it be but a sad way, yet if it will bring You into the presence of joy, although it be a valley of tears, although it be a shadow of death, yet if God will please to bring You, and make it a passage to that happiness, welcome Lord. And I doubt not but God will give You a heart to taste some sweetness and love in this bitter Potion, and to see something of Mercy and Goodness to You, and shew You some signe and token of good, so that Your soul may see that which we have had already experience of (blessed be God for it) many Experiences, many Expressions, not onely in words, but tears; God hath not left us without much comfort, nor evidence;

evidence; and I hope (my Lord) You that have given so many Evidences to us, I hope You want none Your self; but that the Lord will be pleased to support You, and bear up Your Spirit, and if there want evidence, there is reliance; my security lies not in my knowing that I shall come to Heaven, and come to Glory, but in my resting and relying upon him: When the A. chor of Faith is thrown out, there may be shakings and tossings, but there is safety; nothing shall interrupt safety, although something may interrupt security: my safety is sure, although I apprehend it not: and what if I goe to God in the dark? What if I come to him, as Nicodemus did, staggering in the night? It is a night of trouble, a night of darkness, though I come trembling and staggering in this night, yet I shall be sure to find comfort and fixedness in him. And the Lord of heaven be the strength, stay and support of Your soul, and the Lord furnish You with all those graces which may carry You into the bosome of the Lord Jesus, that when You expire this life, You may be able to expire it into him, in whom You may begin to live to all Eternity; and that is my humble Prayer.

Holland, M. Bolton, God hath given me long time in this world; he hath carried me through many great accidents of Fortune; he hath at last brought me down into a condition, where I find my self brought to an end, for a dis-affection to this State, to this Parliament, that (as I said before) I did believe no body in the world more unlikely to have expected to suffer for that Cause; I look upon it as a great judgement of God for my sins. And truly Sir, since that the death is violent, I am the less troubled with it, because of those violent deaths that I have seen before; principally my Saviour that hath shewed us the way, how and in what manner he hath done it,

and for what cause, I am the more comforted, I am the more rejoyced. It is not long since the King my Master passed in the same manner; and truly I hope that his purposes and intentions were such, as a man may not be ashamed, not onely to follow him in the way that was taken with him, but likewise not ashamed of his purposes, if God had given him life. I have often disputed with him concerning many things of this kind, and I conceive his sufferings, and his better knowledge, and better understanding (if God had spared him life) might have made him a Prince very happy towards himself, and very happy towards this Kingdom. I have seen and known that those blessed souls in heaven have passed thither by the gate of sorrow, and many by the gate of violence; and since it is Gods pleasure to dispose me this way, I submit my soul to him, with all comfort, and with all hope; that he hath made this my end, and this my conclusion, that though I be low in death, yet neverthelesse this lownesse shall raise me to the highest glory for ever.

Truly, I have not said much in publick to the people, concerning the particular Actions that I conceive I have done by my counsels in this Kingdom; I conceive they are well known; it were something of vanity (methinks,) to take notice of them here: I'll rather die with them, with the comfort of them in my own bosom; and that I never intended in this action, or any action that ever I did in my life, either malice, or bloud-shed, or prejudice to any creature that lives. For that which concerns my Religion, I made my profession before of it, how I was bred, and in what manner I was bred, in a Family that was looked upon

upon to be no little notorious in opposition to some liberties they have conceived then to be taken; and truly, there was some mark upon me, as if I had some taint of it, even throughout my whole ways that I have taken: every body knows what my affections have been to many that have suffered, to many that have been in troubles in this Kingdom, I endeavourd to relieve them, I endeavoured to oblige them, I thought I was ryed so by my Conscience, I thought it by my charity, and truly, very much by my Breeding; God hath now brought me to the last instant of my time, all that I can say, and all that I can adhere unto is this; That as I am a great sinner, so I have a great Saviour; that as he hath given me here a fortune to come publickly in a shew of shame in the way of this suffering (truly I understand it not to be so) I understand it to be a glory; a glory, when I consider who hath gone before me, and a glory when I consider I had no end in it, but what I conceive to be the service of God, the King and the Kingdom, and therefore my heart is not charged much with any thing in that particular, since I conceive God will accept of the intention, whatsoever the action seems to be. I am going to dye, and the Lord receive my Soul; I have no relyance but upon Christ: for my self, I do acknowledge that I am the unworthiest of sinners; my life hath been a vanity, and a continued sin, and God may justly bring me to this end, for the sins I have committed against him, and were there nothing else but the iniquities that I have committed in the Way of my Life, I look upon this as a great Justice of God, to bring me to this Suffering, and to bring me to this Punishment; And those Hands that have been most active in it,

if

if any such there hath been; I pray God forgive them; I pray God that there may not be many such Trophies of their Victories, but that this may be (as I said before) the last Shew, that this People shall see, of the Blood of Persons of Condition, of Persons of Honour: I might say something of the Way of our Tryall, which certainly hath been as extraordinary, as any thing I think hath ever been seen in this Kingdom; but because that I would not seem as if I made some complaint, I will not so much as mention it, because no body shall believe I repine at their actions, that I repine at my Fortune; it is the will of God, it is the hand of God under whom I fall; I take it entirely from him, I submit my self to him, I shall desire to roul my self into the Arms of my blessed Saviour; and when I come

* Pointing to
the Block.

to this * place, when I bow down my self there, I hope God will raise me up; and when I bid farewell, as I must now to Hope and to Faith, that Love will abide; I know nothing to accompany the soul out of this World, but Love; and I hope that Love will bring me to the Fountain of Glory in Heaven, through the Arms, Mediation, and the Mercy of my Saviour *Jesus Christ*, in whom I Believe, O Lord help my Unbelief.

Hodges. The Lord make over unto You the righteousness of his own Son, it is that Treasure that he hath bestowed upon You; and the Lord shew You the Light of his Countenance, and fill You full with his joy and kindness. O my dear Lord, the Lord of Heaven and Earth be with You, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth bring You to that Safety.

Holland. I shall make as much haste as I can to come to that glory, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth take my soul; I look upon my self entirely in Him,

Him, and hope to find mercy through Him, I expect it, and through that Fountain that is opened for Sin and for Uncleaness, my soul must receive it ; for did I rest in any thing else, I have nothing but sin and corruption in me ; I have nothing but that, which instead of being carried up into the Arms of God, and of Glory, I have nothing but may throw me down into Hell.

Bolton. *But my Lord, when you are cloathed with the righteousness of another, you will appear glorious, though now sinfull in your self : The Apostle saith, I desire not to be found in my own righteousness, and when you are cloathed with another, the Lord will own you, and I shall say but thus much : Doubt not that ever God will deny salvation to sinners, that come to him, when the end of all his death and sufferings was the salvation of sinners, when as I say the whole end, and the whole design, and the great work, that God had to do in the world, by the death of Christ, wherein he laid out all his counsell, and infinite wisdom, and mercy, and goodness, beyond which there was a Non ultra, in Gods thoughts, when this was the great design, and great end, the salvation of sinners, that poor souls should come over to him and live ; certainly when sinners come he will not reject, he will not refuse. And my Lord, do but think of this, the greatest work that ever was done in the world, was the blood of Christ that was shed, never any thing like it : and this blood of Christ that was shed, never any thing like it : And this blood of Christ that was shed, was shed for them that come, if not for them, for none, it was in vain else : you see the Devils they are out of capacity of good by it, the Angels they have no need of it, wicked men will not come, and there are but a few that come over, but a few that come over, and should be*

he deny them, there were no end nor fruit of the blood and sufferings of the Lord Jesus: and had your Lordship been with Christ in that bloody agony, when he was in that bloody sweat, sweating drops of blood, if you had asked him, Lord, what art thou now a doing, art thou not now reconciling an angry God and me together, art thou not pacifying the wrath of God? art thou not interposing thy self between the justice of God and my soul? Would he not have said, yea? and surely then he will not deny it now. My Lord, His passions are over, his compassions still remain, and the larger and greater, because he is gone up into a higher place that he may throw down more abundance of his mercy and grace upon you, and my Lord, think of that infinite love, that abundance of riches in Christ: I am lost, I am empty, I have nothing, I am poor, I am sinfull: be it so, as bad as God will make me, and as vile as I possibly can conceive myself, I am willing to be: but when I have said all, the more I advance that riches, and honour that grace of God. And why should I doubt when by this he puts me into a capacity, into a disposition for him to shew me mercy, that by this I may the better advance the riches of his grace, and say grace, grace, to the Lord, to all eternity, that God should own such a Creature, that deserves nothing; and the lesse I deserve, the more conspicuous is his grace: and this is certain, the riches of his grace he throweth amongst men, that the glory of his grace might be given to himself, if we can give him but the glory of his grace, we shall never doubt to partake of the riches of it, and that fulnesse, My Lord, that fulnesse be your comfort, that fulnesse of mercy, that fulnesse of love, that fulnesse of righteousness and power be now your riches, and your onely stay, and the Lord interpose himself between God and you, as your Faith

Faith hath indeavoured to interpose him between God and your soul ; so I doubt not but there he stands (my Lord) to plead for you, and when you are not able to do any thing your self, yet lie down at the feet of him that is a mercifull Saviour, and knowes what you would desire, and wait upon him while you live, trust in him when you die, there is riches enough and mercy enough, if he open not, yet die at his doore, say there I'll die, there is mercy enough.

Holland. And here is the place where I lie down before him, from whence I hope he will raise me to an eternall Glory through my Saviour, upon whom I rely, from whom only I can expect mercy: into his armes I commend my spirit, into his bleeding armes, that when I leave this bleeding body that must lie upon this place, he will receive that soul that ariseth out of it, and receive it into his eternall mercy, through the merits, through the worthiness, through the mediation of Christ that hath purchased it with his own most pretious blood.

Bolton. My Lord, Though you conclude here, I hope you begin above, and though you put an end here, I hope there will never be an end of the mercy and goodness of God: and if this be the morning of Eternity, if this be the rise of Glory, if God pleaseth to throw you down here, to raise you up for ever: say, Welcome Lord! welcome that death that shall make way for life, and welcome any condition that shall throw me down here, to bring me into the possession of Jesus Christ.

Hodges. My Lord, if you have made a Deed of Gift of your self to Jesus Christ, so be found onely in him; I am confident you shall stand at the day of Christ, my dear Lord, we shall meet in happiness.

Holland. Christ Jesus receive my soul, my soul hungers and thirsts after him, clouds are gathering, and

and I trust in God through all my heaviness, and I hope through all impediments, he will settle my interest in him, and throw off all the claime that Satan can make unto it, and that he will carry my soul in despite of all the calumnies, and all that the Devil, and Satan can invent, will carry it into eternal mercy, there to receive the blessednesse of his presence to all Eternity.

Hodges. *My Lords, it was his own by Creation, it is his own now by Redemption, and purchase; and it is likewise his own by resignation: O my Lord, look therefore up to the Lamb of God, that sits at the right hand of God, to take away the sinnes of the World, O that Lamb of God!*

Holland. That Lamb of God, into his hands I commit my soul: and that Lamb of God that sits upon the Throne to Judge those that fall down before him, I hope he will be pleased to look downward, and judge me with mercy that fall down before him, and that adore him, that onely trust upon his Mercy, for his compassion; and that as he hath purchased me, he would lay his claime unto me now, and receive me.

Bolton. *My Lord, think of this, there is no condemnation to them who are in Christ, who is it that can condemn? it is Christ that justifies; and therefore look now upon this, (My Lord,) upon this Christ, upon this Christ that justifies: Hell, Death, Sinne, Satan; nothing shall be able to condemn, it is Christ that justifies you.*

Holland. Indeed if Christ justify, no body can condemn, and I trust in God, in his justification, though there is confusion here without us, and though there are wonders and staring that now disquiet, yet I trust that I shall be carried into that mercy, that God will receive my soul.

Bolton.

Bolton, *I doubt not my Lord but as you are a Spectacle of piety here, so you are an object of Gods mercy above.*

Holland, Then the Earl of Holland, looking over among the people, pointing to a Souldier, said, This honest man took me prisoner, you little thought I should have been brought to this, when I delivered my self to you upon conditions: and espying Captain Watson on horse-back, putting off his hat said to him, God be with you Sir, God reward you Sir.

Bolton, *My Lord, throw your self into the arms of mercy, and say where I will Anchor, and there I will die, be it a Saviour for us in all conditions, whither should we goe? he hath the words of eternal life: and upon him do you rest, wait while you live, and even trust in Death.*

Holland, Here must now be my Anchor, a great Storm makes me find my anchor; and but in storms no body trusts to his anchor, and therefore I must trust upon my anchor (*Upon that God, said Mr. Bolton, upon whom your Anchor trusts*) yea, God, I hope, will anchor my Soul fast upon Christ Jesus: and if I die not with that clearness and that heartiness that you speak of, truly, I will trust in God, though he kill me, I will relie upon him, and in the Mercy of my Saviour.

Bolton, *There is mercy enough, my Lord, and to spare, you shall not need to doubt; they shall never go begging to another door (my Lord) that come to him.* Then the Earl of Holland speaking to Mr. Hodges, said, I pray God reward you for all your kindness; and pray as you have done, instruct my Family, that they may serve God with faithfulness, with holiness, with more diligence, then truly I have been careful to
press

press them unto: you have the charge of the same place, you may do much for them, and I recommend them to your kindness, and the goodness of your Conscience.

Dr. Sibbald standing by upon the Scaffold, in his passage to *Col. Beecher*, expressed himself thus to his Lordship.

Dr. Sibbald. The Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon you, and you shall be safe.

Holland. Then the Earl of Holland embraced Lieutenant *Col. Beecher*, and took his leave of him: After which, he came to *Mr. Bolton*, and having embraced him, and returned him many thanks for his great pains and affections to his soul, desiring God to reward him, and return his love into his bosom. *Mr. Bolton* said to him, The Lord God support you, and be seen in this great extremity; the Lord reveal and discover himself to you; and make your death the passage unto eternall life—

Then the Earl of *Holland* turning to the Executioner, said, here, my friend, let my Cloathes and my body alone, there is Ten pounds for thee, that is better then my Cloathes, I am sure of it.

Executioner. Will your Lordsh. please to give me a Sign when I shall strike? And then his Lordship said, you have room enough here, have you not? and the Executioner said, Yes.

Bolton. The Lord be your strength, there is riches in him; The Lord of Heaven impart himself to you, he is able to save to the uttermost: We cannot fall so low, as to fall below the everlasting armes of God; and therefore the Lord be a support and stay to you in your low condition, that he will be pleased to make this an advantage to that Life and glory that will make amends for all.

Holland.

Holland. Then the Earl of *Holland* turning to the Executioner, said, Friend, do you hear me, if you take up my head, doe not take off my Cap. Then turning to his Servants, he said to one, Fare you well, thou art an honest fellow; and to another, God be with thee, thou art an honest man: and then said, Stay, I will kneel down, and ask God forgiveness; and then prayed for a pretty space, with seeming earnestness.

Bolton. *The Lord grant you may finde life in death.*

Holland. Which is the way of lying? (which they shewed him,) and then going to the front of the Scaffold, he said to the people, God bless you all, and God deliver you from any such accident as may bring you to any such death as is violent, either by War, or by these accidents, but that there may be Peace among you, and you may find that these accidents that have happned to us, may be the last that may happen in this Kingdome; it is that I desire, it is that I beg of God, next the saving of my Soul: I pray God give all happiness to this Kingdome, to this people, and this Nation: and then turning to the Executioner, said, How must I lie? I know not.

Executioner. *Lie down flat upon your belly: and then having laid himself down, he said, must I lie closer?*

Executioner. *Yes, and backward.*

Holland. I will tell you when you shall strike; and then as he lay, seemed to pray with much affection for a short space, and then lifting up his head, said, where is the man? and seeing the Executioner by him, he said, stay while I give the Sign; and presently after stretching out his hand, and the Executioner being not fully ready, he said, now, now, & just as the words

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were

were coming out of his mouth, the Executioner with one blow severed his head from his body.

Arthur Lord Capel his Speech on the Scaffold, immediately before his death, March 9. 1649.

The Execution of the Lord of Holland being thus performed, the Lord Capel was brought to the Scaffold as the former, and in the way to the Scaffold, he put off his Hat to the people on both sides, looking very austere about him: And being come upon the Scaffold, Lieut. Col. Beecher said to him, Is your Chaplain here?

Capel. No, I have taken my leave of him: and perceiving some of his servants to weep, he said, Gentlemen, refrain your selves, refrain your selves; and turning to Lieut. Col. Beecher, he said, what did the Lords speak with their Hats off or no?

Col. Beech. *With their Hats off: And then coming to the front of the Scaffold, he said, I shall hardly be understood here I think; and then began his speech as followeth.*

Capel. The conclusion that I made with those that sent me hither, and are the cause of this violent death of mine, shall be the beginning of what I shall say to you: When I made an address to them (which was the last) I told them with much sincerity, that I would pray to the God of all mercies that they might be partakers of his inestimable and boundless mercies in Jesus Christ; and truly I still pray that prayer; and

and I beseech the God of Heaven forgive any injury they have done to me, from my soul I wish it. And truly, this I tell you as a Christian, to let you see I am a Christian. But it is necessary I should tell you somewhat more, that I am a Protestant: And truly, I am a Protestant, and very much in love with the profession of it, after the manner as it was established in *England* by the thirty nine Articles; a blessed way of profession, and such an one as truly, I never knew none so good. I am so far from being a Papist, which some body have (truly) very unworthily at some time charged me withall, that truly I profess to you, that though I love good works, and commend good works, yet I hold they have nothing at all to doe in the matter of salvation; my Anchor-hold is this, *That Christ loved me, and gave himself for me*; that is that that I rest upon. And truly something I shall say to you as a Citizen of the whole world, and in that consideration I am here condemned to die, truly contrary to the Law that governs all the world, that is, the Law of the Sword: I had the protection of that for my life, and the honor of it; but truly, I will not trouble you much with that, because in another place I have spoken very largely and liberally about it. I believe you will hear by other means what Arguments I used in that case: But truly, that, that is stranger, you that are Englishmen behold here an Englishman here before you, and acknowledged a Peer, not condemned to die by any Law of *England*; nor by any Law of *England*; nay, shall I tell you more? (which is strangest of all) contrary to all the Lawes of *England* that I know of. And truly I will tell you, in the matter of the civil part of my death, and the cause that I have maintained, I die (I take it

for maintaining the fifth Commandement, injoynd by God himself, which injoyns reverence and obedience to Parents: All Divines on all hands, though they contradict one another in many severall Opinions, yet all Divines on all hands doe acknowledge, that here is intended Magistracy and Order; and certainly I have obeyed that Magistracy and that Order under which I have lived, which I was bound to obey; and truly, I do say very confidently, that I do die here for keeping, for obeying that fifth Commandement given by God himself, and written with his own finger. And now, Gentlemen, I will take this opportunity to tell you, That I cannot imitate a better nor a greater ingenuity then his, that said of himself, *For suffering an unjust judgment upon another, himself was brought to suffer by an unjust judgment.* Truly, Gentlemen, that God may be glorified, that all men that are concerned in it may take the occasion of it, of humble repentance to God Almighty for it, I doe here profess to you, that I did give my Vote to that Bill against the Earl of *Stratford*; I doubt not but God almighty hath washed that away with a more precious blood, the blood of his own Son, and my dear Saviour Jesus Christ; and I hope he will wash it away from all those that are guilty of it: truly, this I may say, I had not the least part nor degree of malice in doing of it; but I must confess again to Gods glory, and the accusation of mine own frailty, and the frailty of my Nature, that truly it was unworthy Cowardize, not to resist so great a torrent as carried that businesse at that time. And truly, this I think I am most guilty of, of not courage enough in it, but malice I had none; but what soever it was, God I am sure hath pardoned it, hath given me the assurance of it, that
Christ

Christ Jesus his blood hath washed it away; and truly, I do from my soul wish, that all men that have any stain by it, may seriously repent, and receive a remission and pardon from God for it. And now, Gentlemen, we have had an occasion by this intimation to remember his Majesty, our King that last was; and I cannot speak of him, nor think of it, but truly, I must needs say, that in my opinion, that have had time to consider all the Images of all the greatest and vertuouslest Princes in the world; and truly, in my opinion, there was not a more vertuous, and more sufficient Prince known in the world, then our gracious King *Charles* that died last: God almighty preserve our King that now is, his Son; God send him more fortunate and longer daies; God Almighty so assist him, that he may exceed both the vertues and sufficiencies of his Father: For certainly, I that have been a Counsellor to him, and have lived long with him, and in a time when discovery is easily enough made, for he was young (he was about thirteen, fourteen, fifteen or sixteen years of age) those years I was with him, truly, I never saw greater hopes of vertue in any young person then in him; great judgement, great understanding, great apprehension, much honour in his nature, and truly a very perfect Englishmen in his inclination: and I pray God restore him to this Kingdom, and unite the Kingdoms one unto another, and send a great happinesse both to you and to him, that he may long live and reign among you, and that that Family may reign till thy Kingdom come, that is, while all temporall power is consummated: I beseech God of his mercy, give much happinesse to this your King, and to

you that in it shall be his Subjects by the grace of Jesus Christ.

Truly I like my beginning so well, that I will make my conclusion with it, that is, That God Almighty would confer, of his infinite and inestimable grace and mercy, to those that are the causers of my coming hither, I pray God give them as much mercy as their hearts can wish; and truly, for my part, I will not accuse any one of them of malice, truly I will not; nay, I will not think there was any malice in them: what other ends there is, I know not, nor will I examine; but let it be what it will, from my very soul I forgive them every one. And so the Lord of heaven bless you all, God almighty be infinite in goodness and mercy to you, and direct you in those ways of obedience to his commands to His Majesty, that this Kingdom may be an happy and glorious Nation again, and that your King may be an happy King in so good and so obedient people. God almighty keep you all, God almighty preserve this Kingdom, God almighty preserve you all.

Then turning about, and looking for the Executioner (who was gone off the Scaffold) said, which is the Gentleman? which is the man? Answer was made, He is coming; He then said, Stay, I must pull off my Doublet first, and my Waist-coat: and then the Executioner being come upon the Scaffold, the Lord *Capel* said, O friend! perthee come hither: Then the Executioner kneeling down, the Lord *Capel* said, I forgive thee from my soul, and not onely forgive thee, but I shall pray to God to give thee all grace for a better life: There is five pounds for thee; and truly, for my clothes; and those things, if there be any thing due to you for it, you shall be fully recompenced: but I desire my body may not be

be stripped here, and no body to take notice of my body but my own servants. Look you friend, this I shall desire of you, that when I lie down you would give me a time for a particular short prayer.

Lieut. Col. Beecher. Make your own sign my Lord.

Capell. Stay a little: Which side do you stand upon? (speaking to the executioner;) Stay, I think I should lay my hands forward that way (*pointing fore-right*) and answer being made, Yes; he stood still a little while, and then said, God almighty bless all this People, God almighty stench this blood, God almighty stench, stench, stench this issue of blood; this will not do the business, God almighty find out another way to do it. And when turning to one of his servants, said, *Baldwin*, I cannot see any thing that belongs to my wife; but I must desire thee and beseech her to rest wholly upon Jesus Christ, to be contented and fully satisfied: and then speaking to his Servants, he said, God keep you; and Gentlemen, let me now do a business quickly, privately, and pray let me have your prayers at the moment of death, that God would receive my soul.

L. Col. Beecher. I wish it.

Capell. Pray at the moment of striking joyn your prayers, but make no noise (turning to his Servants) it is inconvenient at this time.

Servant. My Lord, put on your cap.

Capell. Should I, what will that do me good? Stay a little, it is well as it is now. *As he was putting up his hair.*

And then turning to the Executioner, he said, honest man, I have forgiven thee, therefore strike boldly; from my soul I do it.

Then a Gentleman speaking to him, he said, Nay, prethee be contented, be quiet good Mr. ——— be quiet.

Then turning to the Executioner, he said, Well, you are ready when I am ready, are you not? and stretching out his hands, he said, Then pray stand off Gentlemen. Then going to the front of the scaffold, he said to the People, Gentlemen, though I doubt not of it, yet I think it convenient to ask it of you, That you would all joyn in Prayers with me, That God would mercifully receive my soul, and that for his alone mercies in Christ Jesus. God almighty keep you all.

Executioner. *My Lord shall I put up your hair?*

Capell. I, I, prethee do; and then as he stood, lifting up his hands and eyes, he said, O God, I doe with a perfect and a willing heart submit to thy will: O God! I doe most willingly humble my self: and then kneeling down, said, I will try first how I can lie; and laying his head over the block said, Am I well now?

Executioner. *Yes.*

And then as he lay with both his hands stretched out, he said to the Executioner, Here lie both my hands out, when I lift up my hand thus, [*lifting up his right hand*] then you may strike.

And then after he had said a short prayer, he lifted up his right hand, and the Executioner at one blow severed his head from his body, which was taken up by his servants, and put (with his body) into a coffin, as the former.

A Relation, together with the speech of Colonel *John Morris* lately Governour of *Pomfret* Castle, at the place of his Execution at *Tork*, August 23. 1649.

WHen he was brought out of prison, looking upon the Sledge that was there set for him, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, knocking upon his breast, he said, I am as willing to go to my death, as to put off my doublet to go to bed, I despise the shame as well as the Crosse, I know I am going to a joyfull place; with many like expressions.

When the Post met him about *St. James's Church*, that was sent to the Parliament to mediate for a reprieve; and told him he could not prevaile in it, he said; Sir, I pray God reward you for your pains, I hope and am well assured to find a better pardon then any they can give, my hope is not in man but in the living God.

At the place of execution he made this profession of his faith, his breeding, his cause he had fought in.

Gentlemen, first I was bred up in the true Protestant Religion, having my education and breeding, from that honoured house my Dear Lord and Master *Strafford*, which place I dare boldly say, was as well governed and ruled as ever any yet was before it, I much doubt, better then any will be after it; unlesse it please God to put a period to these distracted times: this Faith and Religion, I say, I have been bred in, and I thank God I have hitherto lived in,
without

without the least wavering, and now I am resolved by Gods assistance to dye in.

Those paines are nothing, if compared to those dolours and pains which Jesus Christ our Saviour hath suffered for us, when in a bloody sweat, he endured the wrath of God, the pains of hell, and the cursed and shamefull death which was due to our sinnes; Therefore I praise the Lord that I am not plagued with farre more grievous punishment, than the like hath befallen others, who undoubtedly are most glorious and blessed Saints with Christ in heaven: It is the Lords affliction; and who will not take any affliction in good part when it comes from the hand of God? and what shall we receive good from the hands of God, and not receive evil? And though I desire, as I am carnall, that this cup may depart from me, yet not my will but thy will be done. Death brings unto the godly an end of sinning, and of all miseries due unto sin, so that after death there shall be no more sorrow, nor cry or pain, for God shall wipe away all tears from our eyes; by death our souls shall be delivered from thralldome, and this corruptible body shall put on incorruption, and this mortall immortality.

Therefore blessed are they that are delivered out of so vile a world, and freed from such a body of bondage and corruption; the soul shall enjoy immediate Communion with God in everlasting blisse and glory; it takes us from the miseries of this world, and society of sinners, to the city of the living God, the celestial Jerusalem.

I blesse God I am thought worthy to suffer for his Name, and for so good a cause; and if I had a thousand lives I would willingly lay them down for the cause of my King, the Lords *Anointed*: the Scripture

pure commands us to fear God and honour the King, to be subject to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether to the King as supreme, or to those that are in Authority under him: I have been alwayes faithfull to my Trust; and though I have been most basely accused for betraying *Liverpool*, yet I take God to witnesse it is a most false aspersiō, for I was then sick in my bed and knew not of the delivering of it, till the Officers and Souldiers had done it without my consent, and then I was carried prisoner to *Sr. John Meldrum*; afterwards I came down into the country, and seeing I could not live quietly at home, I was perswaded by Collonel *Förbes*, Colōnel *Overton*, Lieutenant Colōnel *Fairfax*, whom I took for my good friends, to march in their Troops; which I did, but with intention still to doe my King the best service when occasion was, and so I did; and I pray God to turn the hearts of all the souldiers unto their lawful Sovereign, that this Land may enjoy Peace, which till then it will never doe: and though thou kill me, yet will I put my trust in thee; wherefore I trust in God he will not fail me nor forsake me. Then he took his Bible; and read divers Psalmes fit for his own occasion and consolation, and then put up divers prayers, some publickly, and some privately; the publick was this which follows:

His Prayer.

Welcome blessed hour, the period of my Pilgrimage, the term of my Bondage, the end of my cares, the close of my sins, the bound of my travels, the goal of my race, and the heaven of my hopes; I have fought a long fight in much weaknesse, I have finished

finisbed my course, though in great faintnesse, and the Crown of my joy is, that through the strength of thy grace, I have both kept the true faith, and have fought for my Kings, the Lords Anointed's cause without any wavering, for which, and in which I die; I doe willingly resign my flesh, I despise the World, and I despise the Devil, who hath no part nor share in me; and now what is my hope, my hope Lord Jesu is even in thee, for I know that thou my Redeemer livest, and that thou wilt immediately receive my Soul, and raise up my body also at the last day, and I shall see thee in my flesh with these eyes and none other: And now, O Lord, let thy Spirit of comfort help mine infirmities, and make supplication for me with sighs and groans that cannot be expressed; I submit my self wholly to thy will, I commit my Soul to thee as my faithfull Redeemer, who hast bought it with thy most precious Blood. I confesse to all the world, I know no name under heaven by which I may be saved, but thine my Jesu, my Saviour, I renounce all confidence in any meritt save thine, I thankfully acknowledge all thy blessings, I unfainedly bewail all my sins, I stedfastly believe all thy promises, I heartily forgive all my Enemies, I willingly leave all my Friends, I utterly loath all earthly comforts, and I entirely long for thy coming, Come Lord Jesus, come quickly, Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.

The Private were to himself his hat being before his eyes; after this he put up divers short Ejaculations: As, I know my Redeemer liveth, Father unto thy hands I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed it, O God, thou God of truth, Lord Jesus receive my Spirit, and many of the like, and so he yeelded to Death.



The Speech of Cornet Michael Blackburn immediately before his Death, August 23. 1649.

It is expected I should say something, and indeed it is my desire to say something and but a little:

I Am not a Gentleman by birth, but my Parents are of an honest quality and condition, I was brought up in the Protestant Religion, and in that Religion I have lived, and in that I now die. I have some five or six years since ingaged to this War, wherein I had no other end or intention but to doe my King true and faithfull service, according to my duty and the dictate of my Conscience; I have not done so much service as I desired, but I have been always faithfull to him, and wish I could have done him more; and for his ion the King that now is, I wonder any man of this Kingdome should have the boldness or impudence to lift up his hand against him, to keep him from his Crown whereof he is Heir apparent, and hath as good right and title to it by his Birthright, as any man living hath of his Inheritance or Possession: I pray God blesse him, forgive all my Enemies, and Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.

The

The Speech of Colonel Eusebius Andrews immediately before his Execution on the Scaffold on Tower-hill, on Thursday August 22. 1650. being attended on by D. Swadling.

AS soon as he came upon the Scaffold, kissing the block, he said, I hope there is no more but this Block between me and Heaven; and to the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower* he said, I hope I shall neither tire in my way, nor go out of it. After he had been a good while upon the Scaffold, turning to the rail, he speaks to the people as followeth; *Christian Gentlemen and people*, Your business hither to day is to see a sad spectacle, a man to be in a moment unman'd, and cut off in the prime of his years, taken from further opportunities of doing good either to himself, his friends, the *Commonwealth*, or especially to God; It seldom happens but upon very good cause. And though truly, if my general known course of life were but inquired into, I may modestly say there is such a moral honesty upon it, as some may be so sawcy as to expostulate why this great Judgement is fallen upon me; but know, I am able to give them and my self an answer, and out of this breast am able to give a better account of my Judgement and Execution then my *Judges* themselves, or you are able to give; It is Gods wrath upon me for sins long unrepented of, many Judgements withstood, and mercies slighted; therefore God hath whipp'd me by his severe rod of correction, that he might

might not lose me : I pray joyn with me in prayer that it may not be a fruitless rod, that when by this rod I have laid down my life, by this staffe I may be comforted, and received into glory. I am very confident by what I have heard since my sentence, there is more exception made against proceedings against me then I ever made. My Tryers had a Law, and the value of that Law is indisputable, and for me to make a question of it, I should shame my self and my discretion. In the strictnesse of that Law something is done by me that is applicable to some clause therein, by which I stand condemnable : the means whereby I was brought under that interpretation of that which was not in my self intended maliciously, being testimony given (by persons whom I pity) so false, yet so positive, that I cannot condemn my Judges for passing sentence against me according to legall Justice ; for equity lieth in higher breasts.

As for my accusers, or rather betrayers, I pity, and am sorry for them they have committed *Judas* his crime ; but I wish and pray for them *Peters* tears, that by *Peters* repentance they may escape *Judas* his punishment ; and I wish other people so happy, they may be taken up betimes before they have drunk up more bloud of *Christians* men possibly less deserving then my self.

It is true, there have been severall addressses made for mercy, and I will put the obstruction of it upon nothing more then upon my own sin, and seeing God sees it fit, (having not glorified him in my life) I might do it in my death, which I am contented to do. I profess in the face of God, particular malice to any one of State or Parliament, to do them a bodily injury I had none.

For

For the cause in which I had long waded, I must needs say, my engagement or continuance in it hath laid no scruple upon my Conscience, it was on principles of Law: the knowledge whereof I professe, and on principles of *Religion* my *Judgment* satisfied, and *Conscience* rectified, that I have pursued those ways which I bleſs God I find no blackneſs upon my Conscience, nor have I put it into the bed-roll of my ſins.

I will not preſume to decide controversies; I deſire God to honour himſelf in prospering that ſide that hath right with it, and that you may enjoy peace and plenty, when I ſhall enjoy peace and plenty, beyond all you poſſeſs here; in my converſation in the world, I do not know where I have an enemy with cauſe, or that there is ſuch a perſon whom I have to regret; but if there be any whom I cannot recollect, under the notion of *Chriſtian* men, I pardon them, as freely as if I had named them by name, I freely forgive them, being in free peace with all the world, as I deſire God for Chriſts ſake, to be at peace with me. For the buſineſs of death, it is a ſad ſentence in it ſelf, if men conſult with fleſh and blood: But truly without boaſting, I ſay it, or if I doe boaſt, I boaſt in the Lord, I have not to this minute, had one conſultation with the fleſh about the blow of the *Axe*, or one thought of the *Axe*, more then as my paſſe-port to glory.

I take it for an honour, and I owe thankſulneſs to thoſe under whoſe power I am, that they have ſent me hither to a place, however of puniſhment, yet of ſome honour to die a death, ſomewhat worthy of my bloud, answerable to my birth and qualification, and this courteſie of theirs hath much helped toward: the pacification of my mind.

I ſhall

I shall desire God that those *Gentlemen* in that sad beadrol to be tried by the H. Court of *Justice*, that they may find that really there that is nominall in the Act; an H. Court of *Justice*, a Court of high *Justice*, high in its righteousness, though not in its severity, *Father forgive them, and forgive me as I forgive them.*

I desire you now that you would pray for me, and not give over praying till the hour of death, not till the moment of death, for the hour is come already, that as I have a great load of sins, so I may have the wings of your prayers, to help those *Angels* that are to convey my soul to Heaven, and I doubt not, but I shall see my Saviour, my gallant Master the King of *England*, and another Mr. whom I much honoured, my Lord *Capel*, hoping this day to see my *Christ* in the presence of the *Father*, the *King* in the presence of him, my Lord *Capel* in the presence of them all; and my self there to rejoyce with all other *Saints* and *Angels* for evermore.

D. *Swadling* (he being upon the Scaffold) spake as followeth unto the *Colonel*.

You have this morning in the presence of a few, given some accompt of your Religion, and under general notions or words, have given an accompt of your faith, charity, and repentance:

To those on the Scaffold, If you please to hear the same questions asked here, you shall, that it may be a generall testimony to you all, that he died in the favour of God.

To the *Colonel*. Now Sir, I being to deal with you: do you acknowledge that this stroke that you are to suffer, is a just punishment laid upon you by God, for your former sins?

Col. *Andrews*. I dare not only not deny it, but dare

dare not but confels it, I have no opportunity of glorifying God more, then by taking shame to my self, and I have a reason of the justice of God in my own bosome, which I have put to your bosome.

Dottar. You acknowledg that you deserve more then this stroak of the *Axe*, and that a farre greater misery is due to you, even the pains and torments of Hell that the damned there endure?

Col. I know it is due in righteous Judgment, but I know again, I have a satisfaction made by my elder Brother, *Christ Jesu*, and then I say it is not due, 'tis due from me, but quitted by his righteousness.

Dott. Do you believe to be saved by that Mediator and none others?

Col. By that and that only, renouncing all secondary causes whatsoever.

Dott. Are you truly and unfainedly sorry before God, as you appear to us, for all those sins that have brought you hither?

Col. I am sorry and can never be sorrowful enough, and am sorry I can be no more sorry.

Dott. If God should by a miracle (not to put you to a vain hope) but if God should as he did to *Ezekiah*, renew your daies; what life doe you resolve to lead hereafter?

Col. It is a question of great length, and requires a great time to answer. Men in such straits would promise great things; but I would first call some freinds to limit, how far I should make a Vow, that I might not make a rash one, and to offer the Sacrifice of fools; but a Vow I would make, and by Gods help endeavour to keep it.

Dott. Do you wish health and happiness upon all lawfull Authorities and government?

Col. I do prize all obedience to lawfull government,

ment, and the adventuring against them is sinful, and I do not justify my self, what ever my judgment be for my thus venturing against the present Government. I leave it to God to judge whether it be righteous, if it be, it must stand.

Doct. Are you now in love and charity with all men? do you freely forgive them?

Col. With all the world freely; and the Lord forgive them, and forgive me, as I freely forgive them.

Doct. You have for some late years laid down your gown, and took up the Sword, and you were a man of note in those parts where you had your residence. I have nothing to accuse you for want of diligence in hindering the doing of injuries, yet possibly there might be some wrong done by your Officers, or those under you to some particular men: if you had your Estate in your hands, would you make restitution?

Col. The wrongs themselves you bring to my mind, are not great, nor many; some things of no great moment, but such as they are, my desire is to make restitution, but have not wherewithall.

Doct. If you had ability, would you likewise leave a legacy of thankfulness to Almighty God, something to his poor Servants, to his lame Members, to his deaf Members, to his dumb Members?

Col. My will hath alwayes been better then my ability that way.

Doct. Sir, I shall trouble you very little further; I thank you for all those heavenly Colloquies I have enjoyed by being in your Company these three days; and truly I am very sorry I must part with so heavenly an associate. We have known one another heretofore; but never so Christian-like before, I have rather been a Scholler to learn from you, then an instructor: I wish this Stage wherein you are made a

spectacle to God, Angels, and the World, may be a School to all about you; for though I will not diminish your sins, nor shall I conceal, nor hypocritize my own, for they are great ones betwixt God and my self, yet I think there is few here have a lighter load upon them then you have, if we consider things well, and I only wish them your repentance, and that measure of faith God hath given you, and that measure of courage you have attained from God, and that constant perseverance God hath crowned you with hitherto.

Col. His name be praised.

Here the Doctor prayed with him almost a quarter of an hour, after which, the Col. turning himself again to the people, spake as followeth. One thing more I desire to be clear in. There lieth a common imputation upon the Cavaliers, that they are Papists, and under that name we are made odious to those of the contrary opinion: I am not a Papist, but renounce the Pope with all his dependencies, when the distractions in Religion first sprang up. I might have been thought apt to turn from this Church to the Roman, but was utterly unsatisfied in their Doctrine, in point of faith, and very much, as to their discipline. The Religion which I professe, is that which passeth under the name of *Protestant*, though that be rather a name of distinction, then properly essential to Religion. But the Religion which was found out in the reformation purged from all the errours of *Rome* in the Reign of *Edward 6.* practiced in the Reigns of *Queen Elizabeth, K. James* and *K. Charles*, that blessed Prince deceased, that Religion before it was defaced, I am of, which I take to be Christs Catholick, though not the Roman Catholick Religi-

on:

on : in the profession and practice whereof, I will live and die, that for my Religion. Then he turned himself unto the Executioner, I have no reason to quarrel with thee, thou art not the hand that throws the stone ; I am not of such an Estate to be liberall, but there is three pound for thee, which is all I have. Now tell me what I lack, *Executioner.* *Your hair to be turned up.* Col. *Shew me how to fix my self upon the block.* After which his doublet being off, and hair turned up, he turned again to the people, and prayed a good while. Before he laid down upon the block, he spake again to the people. viz. There is not one face that looks upon me, though many faces, and perhaps different from me in opinion and practice, but (methinks) hath something of pity in it ; and may that mercy which is in your hearts, fall into your own bosoms when you have need of it ; and may you never find such blocks of sin to stand in the way of your mercy, as I have met with. I beseech you joyn with me in prayer. Then he prayed (leaning on the Scaffold) with an audible voice for about a quarter of an hour ; having done, he had some private conference with Doctor *Swadling* ; then taking his leave of his friends, Sheriffs, and acquaintance, saluting them all with a courteous valediction, he prepared himself for the block, kneeling down said, let me try the block, which he did ; after casting his eyes up, and fixing them very intently upon Heaven, he said, when I say Lord Jesus receive me, Executioner do thine Office, then kissing the Axe he laid down, and with as much undaunted, yet Christian courage as possibly as could be in man, did he expose his throat to the fatall Axe, his life to the Executioner, and commended his soul into the hands of a

faithfull and mercifull Creator, through the meritorious passion of a gracious Redeemer, saying the forementioned words, his head was smitten off at one blow.

Sir Henry Hide's Speech on the Scaffold (near the Exchange) immediately before his execution, March 4. 1650.

R EADER, Take notice, That this Speech following is published in those very words that the Gentleman delivered them; and though there be some abrupt breakings off, and other expressions not so smooth as might have been, yet I could not with honesty alter a word; and therefore have I tied my self to his own expressions, that I may neither abuse the world, or the dying man, or my self.

T HE Gentleman came in a Coach to the Scaffold, attended by the Lieutenant of the Tower, and the Sheriffs of London; and also in his company one of his Servants and Doctor Hide.

Sir H. Hide. **I** Am come to put in practice the Christian Profession; and as I owe a death to nature and sin, now I pay it upon the score of grace.

Dr. Hide. Blessed be God that hath enabled you to it: God hath and will enable you.

Sir H. Hide. Looking round on the People, he said, A populous City, God blesse it, and grant they may live to his Grace. Then turning to his Man, he said, *John*, I pray now though I have

not

not been a good Master to you, be you a good Servant, and accompany me with your prayers and help me both in body and mind. *John*, Have you my things about you, *John*?

Then staying for his Servants, they being not on the Scaffold, he said, I had rather have my Servants then Strangers.

Then the Lieutenant of the Tower coming to him, he said, pray Sir rejoyce with me: I thank Almighty God I am brought hither to suffer for him.

Lieut. of the Tower. I am glad you are so comforted: Gods will be fulfilled in all things.

Sir H. Hide. If God call me to him, and I glorifie him, it is well: I seek only the company of your Christian Prayers.

L. of the Tower. I shall not be wanting in that, God willing.

Then then Chyrurgion coming (but not his Kinsman who was called for) he said, My Kinsman is of no use, you may be usefull about my body. I hope Mr. Sheriff that you'l give order I may have a little more room here.

Sheriff. Yes, yes, Sir.

Sir H. Hide. And likewise for liberty of speech; and that it shall please you (for I am not acquainted with the Forms here of *England*) that I may speak my own sense (I am now going into the presence of Almighty God) a very little, without any disturbance.

Sheriff. Why Sir, you shall.

Sir H. Hide. *John*, where is my Coffin?

John. It is here, Sir.

Sheriff. Sir, it seems these men cannot be found.

Sir H. Hide. But if Mr. *Barret* could be found. After some stay, Mr. *Barret* being not found, the Sheriff spake to him, saying.

Sheriff. You have your liberty, you know your time.

Sir H. Hide. Where is the place of standing, that way or this way? (pointing towards the Exchange and the Poultry.)

Sheriff. Which way you please: you may stand which way you will, but that way you must lie (pointing towards the Exchange.)

Sir H. Hide. I am indifferent: It is not the way to Heaven where a man stands.

One brought word to him that there was no help to be had.

Sir H. Hide. That is no hindrance to my felicity.

Dr. Hide. God enable you, that you may find that joy and comfort which is due to the glory of his Holy Name; he will not forsake you that have put your trust in him.

Sir H. Hide. I will open my heart and my mouth with thanksgiving (if this Gentleman please to give way.)

Then turning towards the Poultry, he put off his Hat, and said, *Glory be to God on high, on Earth Peace, Good-will to men.*

CHRISTIAN People, I come hither to die, I am brought hither to die; and that I may die, Christian like, I humbly beseech the assistance of your Christian Prayers, that by the benefit of them my passage may be the more easie; yet because men in that condition, which it hath pleased God to reduce me, carry more credit to their Speeches: In the discharge of my Duty towards God, I shall use a few words, and so dispatch.

I pray all of you joyn with me to praise this Almighty

mighty God, to whom I desire to render all hearty thanks; as for all his mercies, so in particular for this, That he hath brought me hither: That whereas I owe a duty to Sin and to Nature, that now can pay the account: A debt to Nature, I can pay it upon the account of Grace. And because it is fit to render an account of that Hope that is in me, I shall tell you, to the praise of Almighty God, That I have been born and bred up in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, I have no Negative Religion, believing to be saved by the onely merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ, (*putting off his Hat*) and whatsoever else is profest in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England* authorized by Law; humbly beseeching almighty God to restore unto this Church her Peace, Prosperity and Patrimony, whereof I have been an obedient and a loving (however an unworthy) Son. And now both my Hope being confident, and my Faith perfected, there remains onely Christian Charity; Charity we carry into Heaven, Charity on Earth, and that I leave, beseeching all whomsoever I have offended (whether I have or no) to forgive me, as I from the bottom of my heart do them whomsoever; blessing Almighty God for the happy advantage he takes to bring me nearer to heaven; blessing Almighty God, that he hath given me this advantage, as he hath been mercifull to me before the foundation of the World, in my Saviour, so that now he hath in mercy honoured me, with a suffering for his Name, in obedience to his Commandement.

On this day seven night I was summoned before that Justice, which ondemned me on Friday last, praised be Almighty God, that by this way he hath brought me the nearer to Himself (*putting off his hat*) My Charge

Charge I presume is publike, as my Punishment is visible: if there have been any thing in the management of my part, being unskilfull, having discontinued my own Country many years, I shall beseech the Christian charity of all you, my beloved Country-men, to impute it unto the right part, the ignorance that is in this skilfull way of managing: It was objected unto me there, That I had a vanity of delighting in strange Tongues. I was best skill'd in the *Italian* (but free from that vanity, I thank Almighty God) and therefore I would in defence of my life (if it had been the Custome here, or the Judges favour) have used that Language.

It was objected, That I did not so freely as a thorough-paced Cavalier, own my Master: I was told since I came into *England* (for other skill I have not in your Lawes) that a legal Denial in Law might be tolerable; I hope I did not exceed the bounds of that in any thing, for God forbid that I should be ashamed of serving so good, so pious, so just a Master (*putting off his hat*) for that I therein rejoyce, and I humbly beseech almighty God to fill my heart and my tongue, and all that hear me this day, with thankfulness for it.

As to the Business, that another construction had been made and believed here, then what was there, the righteous God knoweth it; if any weakness was in the management, that was mine: I was sent to serve and protect, not to injure any: and as God acquits me of the intention in matter of Fact, as having done any manner of evil that way, however here understood, blessed be his holy Name, (*putting off his hat*) so those Gentlemen of the Turkey Company, if they would seriously consider, for they know it very well, the impossibility of my doing

ing them any manner of harm. Whereas that of the Embassie objected against me, that my Master never honored me withall, I was never worthy of it, I was his Messenger, an *Interuncio*, for the conservation only of his good Subjects, of all the Merchants, untill such time as he could confirm that Gentleman now Resident, or to send any other; and they themselves know that there was impossibility in me (as I bless God there was an innocency in me) unto any such intention to doe them any harm; for my Masters Commands were point-blank the contrary; I was onely sent for their good, as I never owned the Title, so the very Letters themselves speaking no other: I never did so much as think of any manner of Address unto the *Grand Seignior*, but gave him the Letter from my Master; the rest of the English Nation that were there present, may, when they please, assert so much. This I would inferre, that those Gentlemen, as they have been losers by the miscarriages of others, may now have no breach of their charity with me; but if it be, as it seems it is now in this Country, a Sin to be Loyal, I hope my God hath forgiven that, when it is upon harmless employment, not invading any, according to his just Masters Order; for indeed I have been alwayes bred up in that Religion, my Allegiance hath been incorporated into my Religion, and I have thought it a great part of the service due from me to Almighty God, to serve the King (*putting off his hat.*) I need not make any Apology for any thing in relation to the present things in *England*, for were I, (as I spake before my Judges) were I as evil as my Sentence hath here made me black, it were impossible for me to have prejudiced any body in *England*, or to *England* belonging, in that employment;

ment; but I blesse God for his infinite mercy in Jesus Christ (*putting off his hat*) who hath brought me home to him here in this way, it was the best Physick for the curing of my Soul, and those that have done it, have no more power in then that of my body. I leave nothing behind me, but that I am willing to part withall, all that I am going to is desirable: And that you may all know that Almighty God hath totally wrought in me a totall Deniall of my self, and that there is that perfect Reformation of me within, and of my own corruptions, by the blessed Assistance of his holy Spirit, I desire Almighty God in the abundance of the bowels of his mercy in Jesus Christ, not onely to forgive every Enemy, (if any such be in the world, here or wheresoever) but to bring him into his bosom so much good and particular comfort, as he may at any time, whether the Cause were just or unjust, have wished me any manner of evill, for I take him to be the happy instrument of bringing me to heaven. It is tedious, but I have an inward comfort, I bleis Almighty God: (*pray Gentlemen give me leave, speaking to some that press upon him*) I should never do it but to give satisfaction to all charitable Hearts. I have been troublesome.

Sheriff. You have your liberty to speak more, if you please.

Sir Henry Hide. But as to that part, Mr. Sheriff, that did concern the Deniall (as it was affirmed by Master Attorney Generall) of my Masters imployment, Truly landing at *Whitehall* I told that Council, there was just Commissions to an old Officer by the blessing of God, I have been me, and I have other good things that God hath blessed me withall, more then all the good Christians in

in the world, that are not the *Grand Seignior's* Slaves; and we that are Merchants abroad, we allow our selves any sufferance that may induce to our own safety, inlargement of Trade, or preservation of what is ours. Why I had by the grace of my gracious Master a confirmation of my old Commission of *Consulage* in *Greece*: but as to the Embassie, no more then my Credentiall Letters did speak, nor no more then that I attempted, an *Interuincio* they call it in those places, which is a Messenger between the one and the other King. They both unhappily died of severall deaths, and both violent too: And it is a custom not unknown to you, Master Sheriff, and other Gentlemen that practice in the world, that Princes of course, for the continuation of amity do send Messengers where there is peace, that the transaction of those publick expressions of reciprocall Affections may be performed; but for Embassie, God forbid I should own it, I never had it, however they have used it as the happy means to bring me to God this day. I beseech God in the bowels of my Saviour, to forgive those people that have done it, I owe them no harm, so God pay them home with all the good of this, and an everlasting life.

As for Power, I have been long absent here in *England*, I meddle with none: Sufficient to me in Gods grace to the salvation of my soul.

I have been alwayes fearfull of offending Almighty God, according to the grace he hath given me: but to learn new Religion, and new Ways, (that I must say Master Sheriff to you, and all others that hear me) I cannot dispence with my Conscience to give offence to Almighty God. I am now (if it may be with your Commission, Master Sheriff)

to pour out my soul to Almighty God in two or three words (the place is strained.) If I knew wherein to give any satisfaction to any thing whatsoever, wherein I have offended or no, I am here in the fear of God to do it. I forgive them with all my soul, and my forgiveness is clear, as I am now going to receive Happiness at the hand of my Saviour. But if I thought it were satisfaction to Sir *Thomas Bendish*, and all the Company, or any who think they have offended me, I am come Master Sheriff to pay that Obedience Willingly; that Debt I owe to Nature, to pay it upon the score of a Subject; because Conscience within me, tells me not, that for the intentions of serving my Prince, that I could deserve such a Death, though ten thousand times more other ways.

Doctor Hide. There was some suspicion that you might impart the way you were upon to some of those Servants that were with you.

Sir Henry Hide. I humbly thank you for remembering me of it, and if any be here of the *Turkey* Company this day, or any Friend of theirs, I shall desire them from a dying Man, to take this truth, That neither my Brother, my innocent Brother that this is with me, nor other Gentlemen with me in my company, have contributed any thing to their disturbance; it was my own business, whatsoever hath been done, that hath been to evil, or loss, though I deny both of them in my Intentions: I come not here to accuse any man, nor excuse my self, but I praise God for all his deliverances; yet I know I shall do God a great deal of Service, and them a great deal of justice, in not involving any of my company in any thing of mischief. I cannot answer Objections; I find a man may be in *Turkey*, or

in any place, all the World over, where they will give that Language which they hold fitting; but this is beneath me. Blessed be Almighty God, that hath called me to the Knowledge of him, and this ready Obedience which I pray, and mercifull accepting of my Saviour, and patient Death: And I beseech you all, whatsoever you are, that you will accompany me with your Prayers, whereby my Soul may be assisted within me, in that passage to my Saviour whither I am going. I am weak of body; I have discontinued long from the Kingdom, I am unacquainted with new Forms, I have desired to serve God according to his Commandments after the Old way: I have begged mercy of God for all my offences to him, and have had my pardon sealed from Heaven by the Bloud of my Saviour: I beg pardon of all whosoever, whether I have offended them, or no: I truly forgive them, and have besought Almighty God to poure his blessings upon them. I accuse no man, I find fault nor quarrell with no man, neither with the persons that were the occasions, they were but instruments; neither at the person: condemning. I accept thankfully the Sentence of Death upon my self, and I beseech Almighty God, that I may be the last that may suffer upon this score, or upon any other.

Master Sheriff. If there be any thing wherein I can give any other satisfaction to any Christian whatsoever, in any kind, as I spake in generall, I bless Almighty God from my own Heart, now so assisted by the especiall Operation, and Motions, and Dictates of the Holy Ghost: if I can know any thing, wherein, or how to be now in my dying (not having served God so well in my life) serviceable to the Church of God, of Christ, and the full satisfaction

ation of any whatsover, I am here ready : I am unacquainted, but in my extracies to Heaven, there is that Glory I am going to. I beseech Almighty God, that he will give me grace to bless his holy Name ; as for all, as for Jesus Christ, and in him all things, so particularly for this, that he hath thought me worthy to bring me hither for my faithfulness to my Master, that is the most pious and most just Prince in all the world. My Master hath suffered bitterly in *England* ; and if there be any failing in his service, the fault is onely mine. God knows, I have done nothing in the business, but by the instance of the Merchants ; I delivered my Letters, and there they lie : To other things I am a Stranger. I hope that God will give me the grace of perseverance in that Christian Religion ; in that loyalty to my Prince ; in that love to all the World, that now (being to give up my accompt to him, that) I may with comfort be received in the arms of his mercy.

If there be any thing, Master Sheriff, that I may give satisfaction in, I am ready to do it according to the poor talent I have. I will receive my punishment in the way God hath prepared for me ; and many ways I have been taken up. Truly I am bound to all that see me, and many thousands more since I came into *England*, not an uncivil look (we had strange reports abroad) not an uncivil look from any : God repay them all, and return them from the Throne of his Grace into their own Bosoms. And God in particular bless that Honourable Lady, who was the occasion of the coming of my Lords Grace of *Armagh*, with the Confirmation of those glorious and eternal Messages of Comfort which now I am going to enjoy : being thankfull to all those that know me, and know me not, for since I am come hither, wh re-

as I might have received prejudice in respect to my Loyalty (which is not the way, now) I have from them all received courtesie, the Lord repay them. I thank God I am otherwise bred, and my Allegiance hath been incorporated, imbodied into my Religion; and besides the great desires of other Gentlemen, that I might goe out of the World, but that the world might see that the Grace of God hath had a perfect Reformation in me, and a willing and thankful Submission to his Will, therefore I repent me not of it; but I beseech Almighty God to bless and prosper all people whatsoever that to this Kingdome belong. As my Speech is imperfect, so is my Health. I have forced my self in this Discourse to give that satisfaction which I could. And I beseech you Mr. Sheriff, if you can hear of any Gentlemen that are wronged, what I offer here, I am to answer it; and I beseech you joyn with me in your Christian Prayers, that I may have a passage whither I am now going to give an account, not only of every deed, but of every word.

Then turning to his Man, he said,

Sir H. Hide. John, Which is the Executioner?

The Executioner being brought to him, he said;

Sir H. Hide. Honest Friend, I have no quarrel with you, you are the welcome instrument, do your work; only let me see the place, that I may fit my self, for I have an infirm body.

Sheriff. You shall when you have prayed; if you please to pray first.

Sir H. Hide. I desire to see the Block, I can pray afterwards. Here Mr. Executioner is that money that is left; here is Four pounds for you,

Then being shewed the Block, he kissed it, saying,

Sir H. Hide. It is unworthy for me to put my Head

L

where

where my Masters was, Blessed be God, Blessed be his holy Name, (*putting off his Hat*) I have an infirmity in my Body, but God hath enabled me inwardly. Pray M. Sheriff let me have a little more room.

Sheriff. Go to Prayer, and we will clear the room.

Sir H. Hide. I have (I thank Almighty God) done those Christian Offices belonging to me, at home, I come hither only to die.

Then kneeling down, he said the Lords prayer.

Then having prayed a short space, he stood up, and turning to the Executioner, said,

Sir H. Hide. Honest Friend, I pray give me direction what I am to doe, and doe your Office; You will cure all diseases presently; pray direct me.

Then the Executioner going to spread the Scarf over the Block, he said,

Sir H. Hide. Put it not on now, but by and by.

D. Hide. God Almighty strengthen you.

Sir H. Hide. God reward you all.

Then the Executioner going to put up his Hair under his Satin Cap, he thought he had been taking of it off; Whereupon he said,

Sir H. Hide. Must I have my black Cap off? it is very cold; all these Diseases will be cured, the Lord be thanked.

Then going to lie down, his Man not helping him, he said,

Sir H. Hide. *John*, help me a little, I pray; Did not I tell you I could neither rise nor fall? lay me down, and lift me up again, *John*.

Then rising again upon his knees, he spake to the Executioner, having the Ax in his hand,

Sir H. Hide. Pray Sir give me the Ax.

And then taking the Ax in his hand, he kissed it, and returned it to the Executioner again, saying,

Sir

Sir H. Hyde. I will only say, *Lord Jesus receive my Soul*, and when I lift up my Right-hand, do your work.

And then lying down again, after a little space he lift up his Right-hand, and the Executioner at one stroke severed his Head from his Body.

The speech of James Earl of Derby upon the Scaffold at Bolton in Lancashire, together with his Deportment and prayer before his death, on Wednesday the 15. day of October, 1651.

THE Earl of *Derby* (according to the order of the Court Marshall held at *Chester*, by which he was sentenced to die at *Bolton in Lancashire*) was brought to that Town with a guard of Horse and Foot of Colonel *Jones's*, commanded by one *Souchley*, who received his order from Colonel *Robert Duckensfield*, betwixt 12. and 1. of the clock, on Wednesday the 15. of *October*, the people weeping, praying, and bewailing him all the way from the prison at *Chester* to the place of his death.

He was brought to a house in the Town near the Crosse, where the Scaffold was raised, and as he passed by said, [*VENIO DOMINE, I am prepared to fulfill thy will, O my God: this Scaffold must be my Crosse; blessed Saviour, I take it up willingly and follow thee.*] From thence going into a Chamber with some friends and servants, he was advertized by the Commander in Chief, that he had till 3. of the clock allowed him to prepare for death; for indeed the Scaffold was not ready, the people of

the Town and Country generally refusing to carry so much as a planck, or strike a naile, or to lend any assistance to that work, their cry being generally in the streets, *Oh sad day, O wefull day! shall the good Earl of Derby dye here?* many sad losses have we had in this Warre, but none like unto this; for now the Antient Honour of our Countrey must suffer here: and adde to his trouble, most of the Timber that built the Scaffold, was of the ruines of *Latham* house; but nothing could alter his Lordships resolution and courage: for with a stedfast composed countenance and a chearfull, he called the company which were present to prayers with him; wherein he shewed admirable fervency, and a kind of humble importunity with Almighty God, that he would pardon his sinnes, be mercifull to his soul, and be gracious to this land, in restoring the *King, Laws and Liberty*; and that he would be a *Husband* to his *Wife*, a *Father* to his *Children*, and a *Friend* to all those that suffered by his *losse*, or that had been friends to him.

Rising from prayer, he sate down with a very pleasing countenance, and assured the standers by, that God had heard his prayers, which the blessed Spirit of God witnessed unto him, in the present Comforts he now felt in his soul. Then he entred into a discourse of his life, and beseech't God to forgive him the daies and time he had mis-spent, and said it was his Comfort, that although he had not walked so circumspcctly as he ought to have done, yet he ever had a sense of his sinnes, and a tender respect to all the Services, Servants and Ordinances of his God, and that he knew God had mercy for him, that he had strengthened and comforted him against all the terrours of death.

After

After these and some other words to this purpose, he desired his friends and the people by to pray with him again; which when he had ended, rising from him his knees, he appeared fully satisfied of a gracious Return to his prayers, and never after shewed any sadnesse in his countenance.

His next businesse was with his *Sonne* the Lord *Strange*, whom he publickly charged to be *dutifull* to his *sad Mother*, *affectionate* to his distressed *Brothers* and *Sisters*, and *studious* of the peace of his *Country*: But especially (said he) *Son*, I charge you upon my blessing, and upon the blessings you expect from God, to be ever *dutifull* to your distressed *Mother*, ever obedient to hers commands, and ever tender how you in anything grieve or offend her: She is a person well known to the most eminent personages of England, France, Germany and Holland, noted for piety, prudence, and all honourable vertues, and certainly the more you are obedient to her, the more you will increase in favour with God and Man.

Then he desired to be private in the room himself; where he was observed to be about half an hour upon his knees with frequent interjections of groans and sighs before his God: then when he called the company in again, his eyes witnessed to us, that he had abundantly mixed tears with his prayers; he told us that he was very willing to leave the world, being assured by the Testimony of Gods Spirit, that he should be carried from trouble to rest and peace, from sorrow to joy, from life to death, and that death had no other bitterness in it to him, but that it took him from his dear Wife and Children; whom he humbly commended to the protection and providence

dence of a better *Husband*, and a better *Father*; and that yet he did not doubt, but that the Generall, and they who sate in the seat of Authority, would make provision for them, hoping that his death might satisfie all those who sought his life, whom he freely forgave, and desired God to doe the like. Then calling for his Sonne, he took his leave of him, and blessed him; which indeed would have grieved any ones heart (though never so hardned) to see the parting of him now with his Son, and with his two Daughters, the Lady *Katharine*, and the Lady *Amely Stanley*, upon the Road betwixt *Chester* and *Bolton* the day before.

This ended, he called the Officer, and told him he was ready. In his way to the Scaffold, the people prayed and wept and cryed aloud, to whom his Lordship with a cheerefull countenance and courteous humbleness, said, *Good people, I thank you, and I beseech you still pray for me, and our blessed God return your prayers back into your own bosomes; The God of Mercies blesse you, the Son of God establish you in righteousness, and the Holy Ghost fill you with all comforts.*—— Coming neer the Scaffold, he looked up and said, *God I thank thee, I am not afraid to goe up here, though I am to die there; there are but these few steps to my eternity*; then kissing the ladder, he went up, and saluted the people, he walked a turn or two upon the Scaffold, then went to the East-end of the Scaffold, and pulled off his hat again and saluted the people with a cheerful countenance, said, — *I am come by the will of my heavenly Father to die in this place, and I thank God I doe with all willingness and readinesse submit to his most blessed will.*

'Tis a place I desired to see when I was last in the Country, both for the mutual obligations that have
Country,

been betwixt this Town and my family, as also for your particular respects to me, whom I have understood to be ready to clear me from that foul imputation, That I was a man of blood, and that particularly I killed one *Boote* here in cold blood; I doubt not but there are here many men present, both that day this Town was taken, and divers other times during this war, that can justifie I preserv'd many lives; but I know there is not any *one present* that can lay the *blood* of any *man* whatsoever to my *charge*, unlesse what might casually happen in the fury and heat of a battel; and why I die in this Town, I know not, unlesse it be to perswade the Nation that I fall as a sacrifice for that blood which some said I shed here, from which I am acquitted before you, and from which I had also cleared my self before my grand Judges at *Westminster*, had they pleased to hear me before they had destroyed me; that report being hastily brought up among them, by some that I hope God hath forgiven, and too readily drunk in by others, whom I pray God to forgive. As for my crime (as some are pleased to term it) which was objected against me, by the Council of war, (for *Boote's* death was never mentioned against me there, that being onely secretly used to raise a prejudice against me in the judgments of such as did not know me) my crime (I say) though I hope it deserves a farre better name, was, that I came into my own Country with my own lawfull King; I came in obedience to his Majesties call, whom both by the laws of God, and the laws of this land, I conceived my self obliged to obey, and according to the *protestation* I took in Parliament in the time of that blessed Prince his Father; so if it be my crime, I here confesse it again before God, Angels and men,

that I love Monarchy as the best government, and, I die with Love and Honour: and for the Love and Honour I bear to my Master that now is, **CHARLES**, the second of that name, whom I myself in this Countrey proclaimed King; the Lord blesse and preserve him, and incline the hearts of those that have power in this Nation, to accept him to his Fathers Throne with Honour and Peace; for certainly as I believe, this Nation will never be well contented, never throughly happy without a King, so I believe also that King **CHARLES** the second our now lawfull King, were he a stranger to this Crown, were the most fit, and most accomplisht Prince that this day lives, to take the government of this people; his admirable piety, vertue, justice, great valour and discretion, far above so few years, doth now make him in all places he comes highly beloved, and will hereafter make him honourable among all Nations, and I wish the people of this Nation so much happinesse (when my eyes are closed) that he may peaceably be received to the injoyment of his just right, and then they shall never want their just rights, which till then, they will always want.

As for my being in armes in the beginning of this war, I professe here in the presence of my God, before whom within a few minutes I must make an account for this profession, I onely fought for peace, and setting the late King my Master in his just rights, and the maintenance of the laws of this land, and that I had no other designe, intent or purpose for my then taking up armes: and for this last ingagement, I professe here again in the presence of the same God, that I did it for the restoring of my lawfull Sovereign into that Throne, out of which his Father was most unchristianly and barbarously taken, by
the

the most unjust sentence of a pretended Court of Justice, and himself against law and all Justice kept out and dispossessed of; and this was all my reason. For as for estate or quality, I wanted not a sufficient competency, neither was I ever ambitious to enlarge either: for by the favour of my King's Predecessors, my family was raised to a condition well known in this Country; and now it is as well known that by his enemies I am adjudged to die, and that by *new and monstrous laws*, as making me an enemy to my Country, for fighting for my Country; as a Traitor to the laws, for endeavouring to preserve the laws: But, *Oh! God give me grace to consider him who suffered such contradictions of sinners, and O my God assert the King to his Fathers Throne, assert the laws to their former honour, and restore thy own religion in its purity, that all these shadows and false pretences of religion may vanish away, and our childrens posterities may serve thee in spirit and in truth.*

Good friends, I die for the *King, the laws of the land, & the Protestant Religion maintained in the Church of England; all as which I was ready to maintain with my life, so I cheerfully suffer for them; in this welcome death.

* At which word, King and Laws, a Trooper said aloud, we will neither have King, Lord, nor Laws;

and upon a sudden the souldiers being either surprized with fear at a strange noise that was heard, or else falling into mutiny, presently fell into a tumult, riding up and down the streets, cutting and slashing the people, some being killed and many wounded; his Lordship looking upon this sad Spectacle, said thus, Gentlemen it troubles me more then my own death, that others are hurt, and (I fear) die for me; I beseech you stay your hands, I flie not, you pursue not me, and here are none to pursue you. But being interrupted in his speech, and not permitted to go on further, (for which the Officers were much troubled) he turn'd aside to his servant, and gave him the speech into his hand, saying, I will speak to my God, who I know will hear me, and when I am dead, let the world know what I would have said. Here his Lordship was interrupted; but it was as follows, in his own copy under his own hand.

I am

I am sentenced to death by a Council of Warre, after quarter for life and assurance of honourable and safe usage by Captain *Edge*. I had reason to have expected the *Council* would have justified my *Plea*, which hath been *Ancient, Honourable, Sacred and Unviolable*, untill this time that I am made the first suffering President; for I dare affirm it, that never Gentleman before in any *Christian* Nation was adjudged to death by a Council of war after quarter given; I am the first, and I pray God I may be the last president in this case; I must die, and I thank God I am ready for it: Death would now be my choice, had I the whole World in competition with it. I leave nothing behind me which I much care for, but my King, my Wife, Children and Friends, whom (I trust) the never-failing mercies of my God will provide for: I beseech God shew mercy to those, who neither had mercy nor justice for me: my blessed Saviour taught me by his example and command, both to pray for my enemies, and to forgive my enemies; I forgive them freely, even those that contrived my ruine, and pursued me to death; I thank God, I never personally offended them to my knowledge in my life; and let me not offend against them at my death: I forgive them freely, and pray God for Christs sake to forgive them also.

Of my Faith and Religion I shall not (I hope) need to say much, herein I hope my enemies (if now I have any) will speak for me. I profess my faith to be in God only, from whom I look for my salvation, through the precious merits and sufferings of my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, which merits and sufferings are applyed to my soul, by the blessed Spirit of comfort, the Spirit of God, by whom I am assured in my own Soul, that my God is reconciled unto me

me in Jesus Christ my blessed Redeemer.

I die a Dutiful Son to the Church of *England*, as it was established in that blessed Prince my late Masters Reign, which all men of Learning and Temperance will acknowledge to be the most pure and agreeable to the word of God and Primitive government of any *Church* within 12. or 1300. years since *Christ*, and which (to my great comfort) I left established in the *Isle* of man; God preserve it there, and restore it to this Nation.

And O blessed God: I magnifie thy name that thou gavest me the happinesse and mercy to be born in a *Christian* Nation, and in a Nation where thy truth was professed in purity: with honour to thy name, and comfort to thy people, I ascribe the comforts of thy Holy Spirit which I feel in my bosome to the Ministry of thy Word and Sacraments conveyed unto me in thy *Church*, and made effectual by the operation of the same blessed Spirit. In this faith, good people, I have lived and in this I die: pray for me I beseech you, and the God of mercies hear your prayers and my prayers, for mine and your salvation.

Presently after the tumult was over, *Here his Lord-* his Lordship called for the Heads- *ship began to* man, and asked to see the Axe, and ta- *speak again.* king it in his hand, said, *Friend, I will not hurt it,* and I am sure it cannot hurt me; and then kissing it, said, *Me thinks this is as a Wedding Ring, which is as a signe I am to leave all the World; and eternally to be married to my Saviour.* Then putting his hand in his pocket, said to the Heads-man, *here friend, take these two pieces, all that I have, thou must be my Priest,* I pray thee do thy work well and effectually; then handling the rough furr'd coat the Heads-man had on, *This*

This (saies he) will be troublesome to thee ; I pray thee put it off and do it as willingly as I put off this garment of my flesh, that is now so heavy for my soul: then some of the standers by bid the Heads-man kneel and ask his Lordship pardon ; but he did not, but was surly and crabbed : but his Lordship said, Friend, I give thee the pardon thou wilt not aske, and God forgive thee also : Then turning up his eyes to heaven, said aloud, How long Lord? how long? then gently passing over the Scaffold, and seeing one of his Chaplains on horse-back among the people, Good Sir (said he) pray for me, and the Lord return your prayers into your own bosom, and I pray remember me kindly to your brother, and God remember him for his love to me and mine.

Then turning towards his Coffin, *Thou art (said he) my bridall Chamber, in thee I shall rest without a guard, and sleep without Souldiers.*

Then looking towards the block, he asked if all were ready, *That (saies he) methinks is very low, and yet there is but one step betwixt that and heaven ;* then turning his eyes to the people, he saluted them and desired again their prayers ; then said, *I see your tears, and hear your sighs and groans and prayers : the God of Heaven hear and grant your supplications for me, and mine for you, and the Mediation of Christ Jesus for us all.*

Here his Lordship caused the block to be turned, that he might look upon the Church, saying, *Whilst I am here, I will look towards thy holy Sanctuary, and I know that within a few minutes, I shall behold thee my God and King in thy Sanctuary above, under the shadow of thy wings shall be my rest till this calamity be over-past ;* then he pulled off his blew garter and sent it to his Son, and pulling off his doubler, with a very religious chearfulness he said, *I come, Lord Je-*
sus,

*su, and O come thou quickly, that I may be with thee
 for ever : upon this he said, Pray tell me how must I
 lye, I have been called a bloody man, yet truly I never
 yet had that severe curiosity to see any man put to death
 in peace ; then laying himself down on the block, after
 a few minutes he rose again, and caused the block to
 be a little removed ; then said to the Heads-man,
 Friend, remember what I said to thee, and be no more
 afraid to strike then I to dye ; and when I put up my
 hand do thy work ; so looking round about upon his
 friends and the people, he said, The Lord blesse you
 all, and once more pray for me and with me ; at which
 words he kneeled down and prayed privately with-
 in himself, with great sighings, about half a quarter of
 an hour, concluding with the Lords prayer ; then ri-
 sing up again, he said (smilingly) My soul is now at rest,
 and so shall my body be immediately. The Lord blefs my
 King, and restore him to his rights in this Kingdom, and
 the Lord blefs this Kingdom, and restore them to their
 rights in their King, that he and they may joyn hand in
 hand to settle truth and peace ; and the Lord blefs this
 County, and this Town, and this People. The Lord com-
 fort my sad wife and children and reward all my friends
 with peace and happiness, both here and hereafter, and
 the Lord forgive them who were the cause and authors
 of this my sad end and unjust death, for so it is as to
 mankind ; though before God I deserve much worse, but
 I hope my sins are all bathed in the blood of Jesus
 Christ. So laying his neck upon the block, and his
 armes stretcht out, he said these words.*

*Blessed be Gods glorius name for ever and ever.
 Let the whole earth be filled with his glory.
 Amen, Amen.*

At which words, he gave the Heads-man the signe; but he either not observing it, or not being ready stayed too long, so that his Lordship rose up again, saying, Why doe you keep me from my Saviour? what have I done, that I die nor, and that I may live with him? Once more I will lay down my self in peace, and so take my everlasting rest. Then saying, Come Lord Jesus, come quickly, he stretched out his armes, and gave the signe, repeating the same words:

*Blessed be Gods glorious name for ever and ever.
Let the whole earth be filled with his glory.
Amen, Amen.*

Then lifting up his hand, the Executioner did his work at one blow, all the people weeping and crying and giving all expressions of grief and lamentation.

When the corps was carried off the Scaffold, they carried them to a house in the Town, where was thrown into his coffin in a peice of paper these two lines.

Upon *JAMES* Earl of *DERBY*.

*Bounty, Wit, Courage, all (here) in one lie dead.
A Stanleys hand, Veres heart and Cecil's head.*

The

*The sentence of the Council of Warre.**Resolved by the Court upon the Question,*

That *James* Earl of *Derby* is guilty of the breach of the Act of the 12. of *August* 1651. last past, entituled, *An Act prohibiting correspondence with Charles Stuart or his Party*, and so of high Treason against the Common-wealth of *England*, and is therefore worthy of death.

Resolved by the Court,

That the said *James* Earl of *Derby*, is a Traitor to the Common-wealth of *England*, and an abettor, encourager and assister of the declared Traitors and enemies thereof, and shall be put to death by severing his head from his body, at the market-place in the Town of *Bolton* in *Lancashire*, upon wednesday the 15. day of this instant *October*, about the hour of one of the clock the same day.

*A True and Impartial Relation of the Death of
Mr. John Gerhard, who was beheaded on
Tower-hill, July 10. 1654.*

IT was thought needless by the friends of *Mr. Gerhard* to declare any thing concerning his sufferings to the world more then in their sighs, had not the sacrilegious malice of the last weekly-pamphlet thrown some stains upon his name, and so incensed them to a vindication as pious as his death was. 'Tis most certain that there can no blots stick upon
true

true honour, which such weak fellowes endeavour against it: These are cursed beasts but their horns are short; sepulchral dogs! that scrape up graves, and violate the dead, and are fierce and ravenous, but yet dogs still. And all worthy people will call their rayling praise, and what they intend a barking infamy, the greatest merit. Yet because every understanding is not of the same brightness, and those putrid libels may by ill chance fall into some innocent hand hereafter (and yet sure such vermin should not be endured long) therefore let wise and good men pardon him that hath undertaken this justice for that Gentleman, and be pleased to read this sad story, not for their satisfaction sake, but their sorrows: It may dry up a friendly tear perhaps, and still a murmuring groan to see the comely posture of his passion, how well all was carried by him, and how honourably, and the honest circumstances may not improbably take off from the sadness. Why should I grieve that death which had such a living glory in it? Or dishonour that blood with feeble tears, which was shed so like the holy Martyrs? All that knew this person cannot but witness his generall resolution, and whether his great courage fell less then it self (as that viper hissed) or did not rather rise greater now, when the Christian was twisted with the Gentleman, let this faithful relation witness. In which, though all terms and syllables may not be exactly the same, yet if there be a materiall falshood, or a wilfull flattery, may his neck that wrote it feel a viler destiny then axes or halters. *Amicus Gerardus, sed magis amica veritas.*

From the first day of his imprisonment he foresaw the heavy sentence hovering upon him, and there-

therefore gave all diligence to secure himself against it; that however he underwent a temporal condemnation, he might escape an eternal. But after that sad himself doom was pronounced, then he bestirred amain, and made double hast for heaven, It was for his life, and therefore he would lose no minute, but the same night gave directions to a dear friend for a Minister (whom he knew to have long honoured his family) to be brought to him early next morning; and it pleased Authority to gratifie him in this great desire, so that an order was sent freely for the quiet admission of any such person to him. With this spiritual friend he spent some hours every day in prayer, & other ghostly refreshments, which (God be praised) were not without sweet effect and impressions upon his soul. There were some other Mini- *M. Bond.* sters of great observation for gravity and *M. Caryl's* godlinesse in these times, who visited him, and who I am confident will put their seal to this truth with me, that they found him meek, humble, modest, penitent, comforted, and not far from the kingdom of God, if not already in it: but I have good hope he was in possession, and so had he, through grace. Upon the morning (which was the last he must see untill that of the Resurrection) he submitted to some wholesome orders of the Church, and received her comforts by them. That done, he proceeded to (the highest enjoyment of grace that can be administered upon earth) the holy Communion, whereof with his brother Sir *Gilbert Gerard* he was a partaker, with as much reverence, zeal, thankfulness, holy sorrows, and holy joys, as a devout soul could evidence. He wept as if he would have washed his Saviours wounds, which his faith presented in his tears; and yet he said

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he was admirably ravished with all inward peace and comfort in his own conscience. This passed, he had now nothing to doe but to die, which he expected that morning very speedily; But by the pleasure of Authority, both the time and the place of his execution was altered, so that he was to wait a little longer, untill evening, for his release. Many friends and persons of Honour came to take their last leave of him, who can gladly witness his undisturbedness and civil cheerfulness to every one of them. His brother carryed continually with him, and they are together; and though some eruptions of passion could not be restrained now and then where nature was so much concerned, yet they were generally pleasant, & at last parted (about half an hour before he was led forth to death) with as much calmness and placidness, as if they had been to meet again anon safe and unhurt as they had done formerly. So have I seen a windy and stormy day conclude in stillness and Sunshine, as if weary and desiring to rest without any breath of trouble, The Minister only waiting on him to the last; and about five a clock enters the Lieut. of the Tower, and the Sheriffe of *London*; Two sure friends, that will not leave him as long as he hath life remaining in him: They told him a sorrowfull message, that they were come to conduct him to his death's blow: He reply'd they were very welcome, and received them so fearless and untroubled, that the Sheriffe told the Minister, *He was sorry to see him so must for that condition*; but (under favour) he mistook his condition, That which he accounted fitness to die, our Pamphlet-monger would have called flagging and cowardise. So hard a thing it is to satisfie all curiosities, even with our blood, and nothing more ingenious then to carry this bitter

bitter cup even, when so many misconstructions shake it. At his lodging he desired the Sheriffe that he would permit the Minister and three others that were his friends and servants to goe upon the Scaffold with him; which as it was a seasonable wisdom: in him to desire, so was it a fortunate kindness from them that granted it, else it may be their testimony might have been wanting to his injured reputation. He took leave particularly of the household where he was a prisoner, and was so clearly collected in every thing he did, that he went out of his way into the kitchin to bid his Landlady farewell, giving thanks for her respects during his bonds, which he said he should die in to her. As he passed by the Guards in the Tower, he gave them money twice, and told them, he should trouble them no longer, being on his remove to better guards. He walked along to the Scaffold on Tower-hill, shewing a great deal both of humility and respect to the people, who generally lamented him, and prayed for him. As he went he was bare-headed for the most part, carrying his hat in his hand, and sometimes resting it in a careless bravery on his left side. When he came to (or rather leap'd upon the Scaffold (for he was so far from flagging when to tread that Tragical Stage, that many observ'd how sprightly he seem'd to skip up the steps to it, as if he had gone to dance there rather then to die) his grim executioner presented himself to him, to whom with a cheerful smile he said, *Welcome honest friend*; And desiring to see his Ax, he took it into his hands, and kissing it, with a pretty glance of his eye (which was a natural loveliness in him) towards the Minister, he said, *This will doe the Deed I warrant it*. The Scaffold was very much crowded with

people, yet as well as he could he made some turns to and fro upon it, with a paper (which he had taken out of his pocket) in his hand, wherein it seems he had prepared some heads of a speech which he intended to have delivered; but the Sheriff and Lieutenant told him, if he spoke any thing, it must be very brief, and that they must not suffer him to speak any thing that was seditious; *Well Gentlemen* (said he) *your will be done; but (God be praised) I never yet had to do with any thing that was seditious! I would fain have spoken something to clear my self to the world, according to the custom, if it might have been: But come Sir,* saith he, turning to the Minister, *Let you and I speak to him that will give us leave: and so kneeling down together in a corner of the stage, the Minister pray'd with him a short time, which done, they stood up again. Then turning himself to the people, and putting off his hat, he told them, That he was not permitted to speak a few words according to his intencion, yet he doubted not but what he would have said would come to their eyes, though it must not come to their ears: But this I desire all to take notice of, and this he spoke (with a double vehemence) that I dye a faithfull subject and servant to King Charles the second, whom I pray God to bless, and restore to his Rights; and had I ten thousand thousand lives, I would gladly lay them all down thus for his service.* Here he was interrupted, and the Sheriff wished him rather to confesse what he knew concerning the horrid plot he was condemned for; He answered, *That he had confessed all that he knew concerning any Plot: that he thought they knew more of the Plot that condemn'd him, then he did; but he heartily forgave them.* The Minister told him

him it was well done to forgive and pardon those that persecute us : That was an act of true Christian love, but as his case stood, love was not enough; He ought to deal in this business (upon which his life lay) with all candour and sincerity, not concealing any thing of that nature as was charged against him, as far as he might glorifie God and serve the publick good. Upon which; lifting up his eyes towards heaven, and laying his hand upon his breast, *Oh Sir, says he, if there had been any such thing in this breast, would I not have revealed it before this time ! I protest in the sight of Almighty God, I know no more of any such design, but onely what I have often acknowledged, that it was motioned to me by Henshaw, (who I confidently believe is in their hands) and debated twice or thrice when I was with him : but I never entertained it at all, and at the last flatly disown'd it, and told him I would have nothing to do in it. He was many times pressing me to nominate what persons I knew I cou'd bring, and to have their names ; but let them shew any such thing if they can against me. But I am certain he is in their hands. Pawling here a little, and fetching a turn or two on the Scaffold, being very hot (as he had been all that morning) he call'd for some small beer, which he had given order to be ready, and was brought thither in a stone bottle, of which he drank a little once or twice. Then the Minister went to him, and minded him that something might be expected from him as to his Religion, and disposition to dye. To which (gathering up an extraordinary resolution in his face) he replied, *I dye a Christian, a true Christian, according to that Faith and Religion, which was professed by the Church of Engl. in the time of our late King of blessed memory. And I praise God I am so fitted and ready to dye, that I am confident by**

the merits of Christ Jesus, that my sins are pardoned, and my salvation is at hand. Then turning about he called for his waist-coat and cap, and throwing off his doublet put them on, whilst his servants helped to put up his hair. His waist-coat was not very clean, which he took notice of to his man : *but 'tis no great matter said he, if the heart be clean all's well enough.* Being thus prepar'd, he calls for the Block : and viewing it (as with delight) laid himself down upon it, to see how it would fit, and was so far from sinking at the sight of it, that he almost play'd with it : and rising quickly pulls a little paper-book out of his pocket, which he gave to the Minister, willing him to find that particular Prayer which was proper for that occasion, but the crowd being great, he could not quickly find it, so that he kneeled down with the book open a while in his hand as if he had read ; but quickly shut it, and prayed with great expressions of fervency by himself. When he had done, the Lieutenant said something to him (as it seem) concerning his Brother *Charls* that had witnessed against him ; I know not what the Lieutenant said, (for he spake low) but Mr. *Gerard* spake aloud, and replied passionately, *O Christ Sir ! I love my poor brother with all my heart ! he is but a youth and was terrified, I know how he was dealt with ; tell him I love him as well as ever I lov'd him in my life. And commend me to my brother Sir Gilbert, whose release I beseech you Sir to assist : there being no more cause, that I know of for his imprisonment then onely that he was found in the same bed with me, which sure is no capital crime.* Having said this, he took his leave with him, and the Sheriff, and all he knew on the Stage : and turning about once more to the people, desired them to pray for him, himself kneeling down with the Minister, laid his hand in his bosom,

bosom, and they prayed together the last time. After this he bids them all farewell again, and besought them to remember they had a poor Sovereign abroad who deserved to be remembered. Then forgiving the Executioner, and saluting the Minister with his last embrace and kisses, he bow'd himself to the stroke of death, with as much Christian meekness and noble courage mix'd together, as I believe was ever seen in any that had bled upon that Altar. And this all the people that were Spectators, did seem to understand and acknowledge: beholding his fatal blow with an universal sadness and silence; whereas, when the other Gentleman fell quickly after upon another score of blood and ryor, they gave a great and generall shout, as applauding the Justice of the *Portugals* death; but pitying and bewailing the untimely fall of so brave and magnanimous a spirit, as did (through all the clouds of death) shine gloriously in this unfortunate Gentleman.

His Speech.

Gentlemen,

AS this kind of spectacle is no new entertainment to your eyes, for you have had a late glut of such objects: So is it no strange thing to me to be made such a spectacle; for I have been bred upon the Theater of death, and have learned that part so well, though I confess a very hard one, as to perform it pretty handsomely, both as becomes a Gentleman and a Christian.

Onely I must desire you to expect no fine Prologue, or Speech from me; I never studied to make Orations: a very unfit man to lay plots against a State, who am scarce able to lay a few lines of plain English together, as I ought: But though I cannot speak

happily, I doubt not but I shall die happily.

I confess my self a great sinner, Who is innocent? God be mercifull to me a miserable sinner. I adore the justice of God in all this that is come upon me: I have deserved to die long since; and blessed be God who hath given me such time to prepare. But for this Crime I stand condemned for so day, I do protest mine own innocency, as to any consent or engagement to act in it.

I hope you will believe me, when you consider upon what slender proofs and testimonies I suffer; none of them legal, or positive, but circumstantial.

For my Brother Charls, Alas poor youth! how he was wrought upon! But I desire all my friends to think honourably of him.

For my Brother Sir Gilbert,

This imagination of a Plot is said to have been hatched in France, but I fear the nest was at Whitehall.

As for the King, — so far from concurring to such a Deed, that I am only unsatisfied in this, whether I shall die right in his favour, because suspected of any thing so unworthy of him.

I fear he lost his Kingdome by such practises; but whether he would recover them so, is a question: God hath better ways when it shall be good in his sight to plead his cause.

I was lately in France, but on mine own score; for I have commanded there, and probably might.

For my past life it hath been but a troublesome one, but now I hope I shall rest! Since I was any thing, I have served the King, as I was bound: And I wish all that did so, had done it as faithfully! He was condemned for a Tyrant, but God —

For my Religion, though a Souldier, I am able to profess I am a Christian Souldier, a true Son of the Church of

of England, as constituted under Q. Elizabeth. K. James, and K. Charles of blessed memory. Her Doctrine and Government I embrace, Her Truth and Peace I pray God to restore.

I humbly give thanks to God Almighty for providing me the comfort of a Minister, on whose fidelity I might repose my soul.

And I pray God to bless the poor faithful Ministers of this Church, and give you hearts to esteem them; the want whereof is no small cause of our misery.

My days have been few and evil, yet God be blessed in all the vanities and folly of youth, I have been far from Atheism, or contempt of Gods worship; I had alwaies awful impressions of Gods honour and service; which is now my comfort.

And now dear Countrymen fare you well, I pray God bless you all; this whole Nation.

Alas poor England! When will these black days be over! When will there be blood enough! I wish mine might fill up the measure. I forgive all.

Once more fare you well; Commend me to all my friends, Pray for me.

I pray God make you as faithful and loyal as I have lived, and as happy as I shall be by and by when I am dead.

Come Lord Jesus, come quickly.

Father of mercies have mercy on me!

Saviour of the world, save my soul.

O Lamb of God that takes away the sins of the world, hear my prayers!

Into thy hands O Lord I commend my Spirit.

Lord Jesus receive my soul.

The last Speech of Mr. Peter Vowell, which he intended to have delivered (had he been permitted) upon Munday the tenth of July, 1654. (on which day he suffered death in the place where Charing-Cross stood) as from the Original paper written with his own hand appeareth.

Gentlemen,

AT this earthly Bar from them that pretend to have a great measure of sanctity, I had hard measure; but to that Bar I am now going, the Bar of heaven, I shall have Justice, yea one day Justice against them, except they water their beds and couches with tears of Repentance.

The Court gave severe and rash Judgement on my body, and sent a pitifull fellow (but a pitiless fellow) that gave as rash a Judgement of my soul; but that precious Jewel none of them could touch to hurt.

The Souls under the Altar cry loud for vengeance long ago; how many more of late years have been added to them to help the cry? the cry is loud of those lately whose blood hath been unlawfully spilt; but vengeance is Gods, and I will leave it to him.

The Court of my Tryal said I was confident, and held it as a fault; He also whom they sent to the

the Tower (I know not if to entrap me) under pretence to comfort my soul, told me also, I was confident ; I say the same : and the same confidence I bring with me now , and by Gods assistance , I hope I shall carry it out of this world with my innocency.

Gentlemen Souldiers, Among the ancient and savage sort of Heathen, they had a Law once every three, six, or twelve moneths to offer up a sacrifice of humane blood to their God ; and that their God was a Divil : Among us, whether heathen or not you best know, of late years we have had a fatal custome, once in three, six, or twelve moneths to make not only a sacrifice, but many sacrifices of humane Christian blood, our Scaffolds have reek'd and smok'd with the choicest sort of blood. But unto what God do you judge ? What God is he that delights in the blood of man ? *Baal*, the god of Ekron, *Beelzebub*, the god of Flyes.

Amongst the Primitive Christians that lived nearest the time of our Saviour Christ, the greatest Tyrants and persecutors of the Christians lived ; the persecution was great, and yet the courage of those persecuted Christians was so great, that it excelled the fury of the persecutors ; that they came in faster to be kill'd , then they could kill ; they offered their bodies and throats so thick unto the slaughter, that the hands of the Tyrants were weary with killing ; and yet *Sanguis Martirum*, was *Semen Ecclesie*, and many Heathens came in with the Christians, seeing their cheerful constancy, turned Christians, and dyed Christians, and dyed with them ; the Christians still encreased the more.

Of late years here hath been a great persecution in
this

this Nation, and yet the sufferers have been so many, and present themselves so thick in the vindication of their King, Country, and Laws, that they startled the very enemy himself; their constancy so great, that the eyes of their Judges dropped tears, whether real or true, let the Judge of Judges judge; They still stand amazed at their constancy, though they exceed the old Heathens; Are not weary of killing.

Oh Souldiers! How many of you have been brought up, and led on by blind Principles, wronged in your Education, or seduced by your indiscreet heedless and heady Teachers? How many of you young men have for some small discontent departed from your loving Masters, dear Friends, or tender Parents, and fled into the Army? How many of you driven by Tyrannous oppression, poverty, or cruelty, have left your dear wives and children? And some for novelty or wantonness adhere to this employment, not considering the great danger of spilling innocent blood.

How many of you have drawn your Swords you do not know for what? How many of you keep drawn your Swords, you do not know for what? You have put to death a pious and just King, and in his stead have reared up even another *Jeroboam*, that makes *Israel* to sin: What his goodness is, you best know: You have put down a good old Law, and reared up another of your own to judge the people by; my calling for the benefit of the former, and for the equity even of your own Law, I am in part condemned here to dye. Be you Judge of the proceedings.

How many of you have had a hand in putting down the ancient true Church, and raised up in your own

own imaginations a new one ? But alas ! You know not what you do ; if you did, you would grieve to see what a glorious Church you have ruined : you would never have pulled down the hedges, and broken down the fences, that the wild beasts of the Forest should come in, that the little foxes should devour ; and the wilde Boar should rout out so stately a Vine.

When the *Jews* were led into captivity, their goodly and magnificent Temple was burnt ; but in proceſſe of time, they obtained favour amongst the Heathen Kings they dwelt amongst, and had liberty therewith to rebuild : rebuild they did, and finished a second Temple, at which sight all the young men rejoyced to see so gallant a Temple, but the old men wept to see how farre different and short the second Temple was from the glory of the first : So you young men rejoyce at your imaginary Church, but the old men methinks I see some weep, (Oh weep not for me) weep for your Country, weep to see Religion, Liberty and Laws taken from you, weep to see so many good men snatcht away, but indeed from the miseries to come, and weep for what your unhappy selves will suffer.

Souldiers, however you flourish for a time, and perhaps many of you may rejoyce at our deaths, but believe it, as *Sampson* pull'd the house of the *Philistims* down when he fell : so shall we give you and your Cause a greater blow by our deaths, than living we possibly could have done. You may for a time flourish, but remember what our Saviour said, *All you that make use of the Sword, shall perish by the Sword, you shall be cut down like the grass, and wither away like the green herbs.*

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But do you behold yonder glorious place? Do you behold the spangled Heavens, where the holy Angels dwell, where God himself is seated with thrones, Principalities, Powers, and the Celestial Spirits of just men, when the Trump shall blow, when the dead shall rise at the dreadfull day of judgement? How will you answer all your Rapes and Murthers? Do you think your hands that have been bathed in the blood of your King, the blood of so many of your eminent Country-men so unjustly, they have been bathed in the blood of many of your friends, your kindred, perhaps your Parents, can ever reach yonder glorious place without repentance? Oh no, repent now therefore, it is not too late, shake off your bloody *Protector*, rescue your ancient Laws, and call in your Royal young PRINCE, whom you have long enough wronged; Make your Addresses to the great Protector of Heaven and earth as I now do my self for a Pardon for all your former and present transgressions.

I dye an obedient Son of the Church of *England*, and with a dutifull heart to the KING, and desire that none present that love him, will be disheartned by my death, but continue faithfull to the end.

And so farewell, I forgive all the world, &c.

The

The Speech of the Honourable Colonel Penraddock, the greatest part whereof he delivered upon the Scaffold in Exon. Castle the 16. day of May 1655. the whole he left with a Gentleman and friend of his, written with his own hand; which is as followeth.

Together with the manner of his being beheaded.

As he was ascending the Scaffold, baring his knees, and bowing himself, he used these words, This I hope will prove to be like *Jacobs* ladder; though the feet of it rest on earth, yet I doubt not but the top of it reacheth to Heaven.

When he came upon the Scaffold, he said,

O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death? I thank God who hath given me victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Then with abundance of Christian chearfulnesse he spake to the people as followeth.

Gentlemen,

IT hath ever been the custom of all persons whatsoever when they come to die, to give some satisfaction to the world, whether they be guilty of the fact of which they stand charged. The crime for
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which they stand charged. The crime for which I am now to die, is Loyalty, (but) in this age call'd high Treason. I cannot deny but I was at *South-moulton* in this County: but whether my being there, or my actions there amount to so high a crime as high Treason, I leave to the world and to the Law to judg. Truly, if I were conscious to my self of any bale ends that I had in this undertaking, I would not be so injurious to my own soul, or disingenuous to you, as not to make a publick acknowledgement thereof. I suppose that divers persons, according as they are biased in their severall interests and relations, give their opinions to the world concerning us. I conceive it impossible therefore so to expresse my self in this particular, as not to expose both my judgement and reputation to the censure of many which I shall leave behind me. Because I will not put others (therefore) upon a breach of charity concerning me or my actions, I have thought fit to decline all discourses which may give them a capacity either to injure themselves or me. My Tryall was publick, and my severall examinations (I believe) will be produced when I am in my grave: I will refer you therefore to the first, which I am sure some of you heard, and to the later, which many of you (in good time) may see. Had Captain *Crook* done himself and us that right which a Gentleman and a Souldier ought to have done, I had not now been here. The man I forgive with all my heart: but truly Gentlemen, his protesting against those Articles he himself with so many protestations and importunities put upon us hath drawn so much dishonour and bloud upon his head, that I fear some heavy judgement will pursue him. Though he hath been false to us, I pray God I do not prove a true prophet to him.

Nay,

Nay, I must say more, that coming on the road to *Exon*, he the said Captain *Craek* told me, Sir *Joseph Wagstaffe* was a gallant Gentleman; and that he was sorry he was not taken with us; that then he might have had the benefit of our Articles; but now (said he) I have beset all the Country for him, so that he cannot escape, but must be hanged.

He also questioned me as I passed through *Salisbury* from *London*, whether he had given me conditions. Which I endeavouring to make appear to Major *Busler*; he interrupted me; and unwillingly confess't it, saying, I profered him four hundred pounds to perform his Articles: which had been a strange profer of mine, had I not really conditioned with him. And I told him then (having found him unworthy) I would have given him five hundred pounds, believing him to be mercenary. To make it yet farther appear, I injure him not by styling him unworthy, after these Articles were given; he profered to pistoll me, if I did not perswade another house to yield, which then were boldly resisting. To which my servant *John Biby* (now a prisoner) replied; I hope you will not be so unworthy, as to break the Law of Arms.

Thus much I am obliged to say to the honour of the Souldierie, that they have been so far from breaking any Articles given to others, that they have rather bettered them then otherwise.

It is now our misfortune to be made presidents and examples together: but I will not doe the Protectour so much injury, as to load him with this dishonour; since I have been informed, that he would have made our conditions good, if

Crook, that gave them, had not abjur'd them.

This is not a time for me to enlarge upon any subject; since I am now become the Subject of death: But since the Articles were drawn by my hand, I thought my self obliged to a particular Justification of them.

I could tell you of some souldiers which are turn'd out of his troupe for defending those conditions of ours: but let that passe; and henceforward, in stead of life, liberty, and estate, (which were the Articles agreed upon) let drawing, hanging and quartering, bear the Denomination of Captain *Crook's* Articles.

However, I thank the Protectour for granting me this honourable Death.

I should now give you an account of my Faith. But truly gentlemen this poor Nation is rent into so many severall opinions, that it is impossible for me to give you mine without displeasing some of you. However, if any man be so criticall as to enquire of what faith I die, I shall refer him to the Apostles, *Athanasius*, and the *Nicene* Creed, and to the testimony of this Reverend gentleman *D. Shors*, to whom I have unbosomed my self: and if this doe not satisfie, look in the thirty nine Articles of the Catholick Church of *England*; to them I have subscribed, and do own them as authentick.

Having now given you an account concerning my self; I hold my self obliged in duty to some of my friends, to take off a suspition which lyes upon them: I mean, as to some persons of Honour, which upon my examination I was charged to have held correspondency with. The Marquess of *Hartford*, the Marquess of *Winchester*, and my Lord of *Pembroke* were the persons nominated to me. I did then
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acquit them, and do now second it with this protestation, That I never held any correspondency with either, or any of them, in relation to this particular businesse, or indeed to any thing which concern'd the Protectour or his Government. As for the Marquesse of *Winchester*, I saw him some twelve years since, and not later; and if I should see him here, present, I believe I should not know him. And for the Earl of *Pembroke*, he was not a man likely, to whom I should discover my thoughts, because he is a man of a contrary judgement.

I was examined likewise concening my Brother *Freke*, my Cousin *Hastings*, Mr. *Dorrington* and others. It is probable their estates may make them liable to this my condition: but I doe here so far acquit them, as to give the world this farther protestation; that I am confident they are as innocent in this businesse as the youngest child here.

I have no more to say to you now, but to let you know, that I am in charity with all men; I thank God, I both can, and doe forgive my greatest persecutors, and all that ever had any hand in my death.

I have offered the Protectour as good security for my future demeanour as I suppose he could have expected: if he had thought fit to have given me my life, certainly I should not have been so ungratefull as to have employed it against him. I do humbly submit to Gods pleasure, knowing that the issues of life and death are in his hand. My blood is but a small sacrifice: if it had been saved, I am so much a Gent. as to have given thanks to him that preserved it; and so much a Christian, as to forgive them which take it. But seeing God by his providence hath called me to lay it down, I willingly submit to it, though terrible to nature: but blessed be my Saviour,

who hath taken out the sting; so that I look upon it without terrour. Death is a debt, and a due debt; and it hath pleased God to make me so good a husband, that I am come to pay it before it is due. I am not ashamed of the cause for which I die, but rather rejoyce that I am thought worthy to suffer in the defence and cause of Gods true Church, my lawful King, the liberty of the Subject, and Priviledge of Parliaments. Therefore I hope none of my alliance and friends will be ashamed of it; it is so far from pulling down my Family, that I look upon it as the raising of it one story higher. Neither was I so prodigal of nature as to throw away my life, but have used (though none but honourable and honest) means to preserve it.

These unhappy times indeed have been very farall to my family: two of my Brothers already slain, and my self going to the slaughter: it is Gods will and I humbly submit to that providence.

I must render an acknowledgment of the great civilities that I have received from this City of *Exon*, and some persons of quality, and for their plentiful provision made for the prisoners. I thank Mr. Sheriff for his favour towards us, in particular to my self; and I desire him to present my due respects to the Protector, and though he had no mercy for my self, yet that he would have respect to my family.

I am now stripping off my cloaths to fight a duell with death, (I conceive no other duell lawful) but my Saviour hath pulled out the sting of this mine enemy, by making himself a sacrifice for me: And truly I do not think that man deserving one drop of his blood, that will not spend all for him in so good a cause.

The Truth is, Gentlemen, in this Age, Treason is
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an *individuum vagum*, like the wind in the Gospel, it bloweth where it listeth : So now Treason is what they please, and lighterh upon whom they will. Indeed no man, except he will be a Traitor, can avoid this Censure of Treason. I know not to what end it may come, but I pray God my own, and my Brothers blood that is now to die with me, may be the last upon this score.

Now Gentlemen, you may see what a condition you are in without a King : you have no Law to protect you, no rule to walk by : when you perform your duty to God, your King and Country, you displease the Arbitrary power now set up : (I cannot call it government.) I shall leave you peruse my Tryal, and there you shall see, what a condition this poor Nation is brought into ; and (no question) will be utterly destroyed, if not restored (by Loyal Subjects) to its old and glorious Government. I pray God he lay not his Judgements upon *England* for their sluggishness in doing their duty, and readinesse to put their hands in their bosoms, or rather taking part with the Enemy of Truth. The Lord open their eyes, that they may be no longer lead, or drawn into such snares : else the Child unborn will curse the day of their Parents birth.

God Almighty preserve my Lawful King *Charles* the second, from the hands of his Enemies, and break down that wall of Pride and Rebellion, which so long hath kept him from his Just Rights. God preserve his Royal Mother, and all his Majesties Royal Brethren, and incline their hearts to seek after him. God incline the hearts of all true *English* men to stand up as one Man to bring in the King ; and Redeem themselves and this poor Kingdom, out of its more then *Egyptian* slavery.

As I have now put off these garments of cloth, so I hope I have put off my garments of sin, and have put on the Robes of Christs Righteousness here, which will bring me to the enjoyment of his glorious Robes anon.

Then he kneeled down and kissed the block, and said thus: I commit my soul to God my Creator and Redeemer. Look on me, O Lord, at my last gasping: Hear my prayer and the prayers of all good people. I thank thee, O God, for all thy dispensations towards me.

Then kneeling down he prayed most devoutly, as followeth.

O Eternall, Almighty, and most mercifull God, the Righteous Judge of all the world, look down in mercy on me a miserable sinner. O blessed Jesus Redeemer of Mankind, which takest away the sinnes of the world, let thy perfect manner of obedience be presented to thy Heavenly Father for me. Let thy precious death and blood be the ransom and satisfaction of my many and heinous transgressions. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God, make intercession for me. O holy and blessed Spirit which art the comforter, fill my heart with thy consolations. O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, be mercifull to me, confirm my faith in the promises of the Gospel, revive and quicken my hope and expectation of joyes prepared for true and faithful servants. Let the infinite Love of God my Saviour make my love to him steadfast, sincere, and constant.

O Lord consider my condition, accept my tears, assuage my grief, give comfort and confidence in thee: impute not unto me my former sinnes, but most mercifull Father receive me into thy favour, for the merits of Christ Jesus. Many and grievous are my sins, for

I have sinned many times against the light of knowledge, against remorse of conscience, against the motions and opportunities of grace. But accept I beseech thee, the sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart, in and for the perfect sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction of thy Son Jesus Christ. O Lord receive my soul after it is delivered from the burthen of the flesh, into perfect joy in the sight and fruition of thee. And at the generall resurrection grant that my body may be endued with immortality, and received with my soul into glory.

I praise thee O God, I acknowledge thee to be the Lord. O Lamb of God, that takest away the sinnes of the world, have mercy on me. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God, hear my prayer. O Lord Jesus Christ, God and Man, Mediator betwixt God and Man, I have sinned as a Man, be thou mercifull to me as a God. O holy and blessed Spirit, help my infirmities with those sighs and groans which I cannot expresse.

Then he desired to see the Axe, and kissed it, saying, I am like to have a sharp passage of it, but my Saviour hath sweetened it unto me.

Then he said, if I would have been so unworthy as others have been, I suppose I might by a lie have saved my life: which I scorn to purchase at such a rate. I despise such temptations, and them that gave them me.

Glory be to God on high: On Earth peace: Good will towards Men. And the Lord have mercy upon my poor soul. Amen.

So laying his Neck upon the block, after some private Ejaculations, he gave the Heads-man a sign with his hand, who at one blow severed his head from his body.

*The Speech of that piously resolved Hugh Grove
of Chisenbury in the parish of Enford and
County of Wilts Esquire, beheaded the 16.
day of May, 1655. in the Castle at Exon.*

Good people,

I Never was guilty of much Rhetorick, nor ever
loved long Speeches in all my life, and therefore
you cannot expect either of them from me now at
my death. All that I shall desire of you, besides
your hearty prayers for my soul, is, That you would
bear me witness: I die a true son of the Church of
England, as it was established by King *Edward* the
sixth, Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King
Charles the first of ever blessed memory: That I die
a Loyall subject to King *Charles* the second, my un-
doubted Sovereign, and a lover of the good old Laws
of the Land, the just priviledges of Parliaments, and
Rights and Liberties of the People; for the re-
establishing of all which I doe undertake this ingage-
ment, and for which I am ready to lay down my life.
God forgive the bloudy-minded Jury and those that
procured them: God forgive Captain *Crook* for
denying his Articles so unworthily: God forgive
Mr. *Dove*, and all other persons swearing so ma-
liciously and falsely against me: God forgive all
my enemies; I heartily forgive them. God
blesse the King and all that love him, turn the
hearts of all that hate him; God blesse you all,
and

and be mercifull to you, and to my Soul. Amen.

And so meekly laying his neck to the block, and giving a signe, his head at one blow, and a draw of the axe, was severed from his body.

The manner of the Execution of Sir Henry Slingsby on Tuesday the 8. of June, 1658. With the substance of his speech before his Death.

ABout Eleven of the clock Sir *Henry Slingsby* was brought from the Tower to the Scaffold on Tower-Hill ; whither being come, he fell upon his knees, and for a short space prayed privately.

Then standing up, he did in a short Speech, and with a very low voice, address himself to that noble Gentleman Mr. Sheriff *Robinson*, telling him that what he had to say he would speak to him ; which was to this purpose :

That he had received a Sentence to die, upon account of his endeavouring to betray the Garrison of Hull : But said, All that he did in that business he was drawn into by others.

That the Officers of that Garrison did believe he had some greater Design in hand, and therefore they would needs pump him to the bottome : But what he spoke to them in private was brought into evidence against him : He likewise said, That he did no more than any person would have done that was so brought on.

That he had made many applications (by his Friends) for a Reprieve, but found his Highness was insurmountable.

He did confess that he did deliver a Commission (as

it was charged against him :) But said, that it was an old Commission, and what he meant was well known to himself; but what construction others had made of it might appear by his present condition.

He discovered little sense of sorrow, or fear of Death; but said, *He was ready to submit, or words to like purpose.*

Then he addressed himself to private prayer again; and kneeling down to the Block he prayed privately for a short space: Then laid his head upon the Block, and at the signe given, the Executioner severed his Head from his Body at one Blow: And his Friends put his Body into a Coffin, and removed it into a close Coach prepared neer the place.

The manner of the Execution of John Hewet, D. D. on the same Scaffold, on Tuesday the same 8. of June 1658. with his speech before his Death.

AS soon as Sir Henry Slingsby's body was removed, as is aforesaid, Dr. Hewet was brought upon the Scaffold, whither being come (together with Dr. Wild, Dr. Warmstry, & Mr. Barwick) he fell upon his knees, and prayed privately for the space of a quarter of an hour; After that he prayed audibly for a good space.

After which prayer he addressed himself to the people in a speech which continued above the space of an hour; the substance of which speech was as followeth.

I am now become a publick Spectacle to Men and Angels, and (I hope) God, who is Omniscient, is
now

now beholding me with much pity, and great mercy and compassion; and the more, because I am now come to that end that his own Son came into the world to, To bear witness to the truth; he himself said, *For this end was I born, for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness to the Truth*: I was brought into the world (the Christian world) for to bear witness to the truth of the Gospel, as a common Christian; I was brought into the world (the Church) as a Minister of his blessed Word and Sacraments; [Blessed be his name for that great honor and dignity;] and I came into the world to die more immediately for the testimony of JESUS, which God hath now called me to. I came into this world (this Common-wealth) to be a member thereof, to bear witness to the Truths of the Customes, the Laws, the Liberties, and Priviledges thereof; So I am a member of the Common-wealth: And me thinks it seems to me a strange thing, that in as much as we all plead for Liberty, and Priviledges, and I pleading for the Priviledges, the Laws, the Statutes, and the Customes of this Land, yet I should die by those that should stand for the Laws, the Statutes, and Priviledges, of the Land: And I am here beheld by those that plead for their Liberties, and I hope I am pitied, because I here give up my self willingly and freely to be a State-Martyr for the publick good; and I had rather die many deaths my self, than betray my fellow-freemen to so many inconveniencies that they might be like to suffer by being subject to the wills of them that willed me to this death.

And it is worthy remembrance, that Mr. *Solicitor* having impeached me of Treason to the Commissioners of the Court against his Highnesse, I did offer
(when

(when brought before those Commissioners) plead for the Liberties of the people of *England*, though I had no knowledge of the Law, yet I had instruction from those that were learned in the Law, and had several Law-Cases and Presidents put into my hand, though not by them, and urged several Law-Cases, and made my Appeal. First, for the Judicature that I was to be tryed by, Whether it were according to Law? Whether it were according to the Act? And whether it were according to the words of the said Act? I did appeal to have the said Act argued by learned Lawyers on both sides, and then to be resolved by his Highness's own Council, which was denied me, [This by the by] I pressing the Argument made a second Appeal that those Judges if they would give singly their several Judgements that it was a just and lawfull Court of Judicature, I would answer to my Charge. I did make another Appeal to those that were his Highness's Council, and pleaded against me, That if they would deliver it to me under their hands to be according to Law, I would then go on to plead and answer to the Charge. What was then said further, my spirits being faint, I shall not say much, but only this, I was taken in three defaults upon formality of the Court. It seems it is a custome in all Courts, (which I did not know before) that if they answer not the third time speaking by the Clerk, that then they are guilty of three defaults, and proceeded against as mute: [I had no such knowledge of the Law.] So they found me guilty of those defaults; and when I would have pleaded, and resolved to begin to plead, I was taken from the Bar. I did the next day make my Petition to the Court in the Painted-Chamber, two Petitions were presented the same in effect; the former the

Title

Title was mistaken: Yet because the Title was mistaken, and no answer given, therefore it was that another Petition was drawn up to the same effect; with a new Title given, (as I remember) presented by the Serjeant at Arms, and one writ it over in such haste, lest they should be drawn out of the Painted-Chamber into the Court, that I had not time to read it over; only I subscribed my name, and there was in the front of the Petition a word left out, but what the word was I know not; and this was taken so ill, as if I had put an affront and contempt on the Court; And it was thought they would have heard me plead; and then, because of that mistake, they sent word, I should have my answer when I came into the Court; and my answer was the sentence of condemnation. And therefore I pray with all my soul, that God would forgive all those that occasioned the charge to be drawn against me, to give such unjust things against me: I pray with all my soul, that God would forgive all those that upon so slender and small grounds adjudg'd me to die, taking advantage of such simple ignorance as I was in. And I had at the very beginning of my pleading engaged their Honors, no advantage should be taken against me to my prejudice, that in as much as I understood nothing of the Law: And having heard that a man in the nicety of the Law might be lost in the severity thereof merely for speaking a word out of simple ignorance, I made it my prayer to them, that no advantage might be taken against me to the prejudice of my person: and there was to me a seeming consent; for the President told me, there should be no advantage taken against me: and upon these considerations I am afraid there was too great uncharitableness: But I pray God forgive them from the very bottom

of

of my soul, and I desire that even those that shed my blood, may have the bowels of the God of Mercy shed for them.

And now having given you the occasion of my coming hither, it is fit I should give you somewhat as concerning my self, as I am a Christian, and as I am a Clergy-man. First, as I am a Christian, I thank God I was baptized to the Holy Church, so I was baptized to be a Member of the holy Catholick Church, that is, the Church of *England*, which I dare say for purity of Doctrine, and orderly Discipline, till a sad reformation had spoiled the face of the Church, and made it a querie, whether it were a Church, or no? I say, it was more purely Divine and Apostolical, than any other Doctrine or Church in the Christian World, whether National, or Classi- cal, or Congregational: And I must tel you, That as I am a Member of this Church, so I am a Member of the holy Catholick Church, and shall give a most just confession of my Faith, both negatively and affirmatively. Negatively, I am so a Member of the holy Catholick Church, that I abhor all Sects, Schisms, Seditious, and Tyranny in Religion. Affirmatively so, That as I hold Communion with, so I love and honour all Christians in the world, that love the same Lord JESUS in sincerity, and call on his Name, agreeing with those truths that are absolutely necessary and clearly demonstrated in the Word of God, both in the Old and New Testament, though in charity dissenting from some others that are not necessary. And I, as I am thus a Christian, I hope for salvation through the merits of Christ Jesus, his blood I rely on, his merits I trust to for the salvation of my own soul: though to this Faith Good Works are necessary, not meritorious in us, but onely made me-

meritorious by Christ his death, by his all-sufficiency, by his satisfaction, and his righteousness, they become meritorious, but in us they are no other than as defiled Rags. And truly, as I am a Member of the Church, so I told you, I was a Member of this Community, and so pleaded for the Liberties and Priviledges thereof. I must now answer something I am aspersed withall in the world.

They talk of something of a Plot, and a Treasonable design, and that I had a great interest in the knowledge and practise thereof, and that, for the saving my life, I would have discovered and betrayed I cannot tel what. I hope my conversation hath not been such here in this City, where I have been a long time very well known, as to make one imagine I should intermeddle in such an action, and go so contrary to the practise of my profession: and I hope there are none so uncharitable towards me, as to believe I had a knowledge of that design.

Here I must come to particulars for a Plot, of having a design upon the City of *London*, for the firing of it. I so much tremble at the thought of the thing that should have been done, as they say, for the carrying on of such a design, (if my heart deceive me not) had I known it, I so much abhor the thing, I should have been the first discoverer of it: Nor ever had I correspondencie or meetings with such persons as would have carried on such a design. It is said likewise, I entertained the Earl, the Marquess of *Ormond*: To my remembrance I never saw the face of that honourable person in my life. It is said, One Lords day I did preach at Saint *Gregories*, and the next Lords day I was at *Brussels* or *Bruges*, and kist the Kings hand, and brought I cannot tel what

what Orders and Instructions from him. This I shall say, For these three years last past together, I have not been sixty miles from this City of *London*, and I think it is somewhat further to either of those places, than threescore miles. It is said that I kept correspondence with one *Mallory* and *Bishop*: They are persons I have heard of their names, but never saw their faces; and to my knowledge I do not know they know me: nor do I know them at all, but onely as I have heard of their names. And whosoever else hath suggested such things against me, I know not.

His Highness was pleased to tel me, I was like a flaming Torch in the midst of a sheaf of Corn: He meaning, I being a publick Preacher, was able to set the City on fire by sedition and combustions, and promoting designs. Here truly I do say, and have it from many of those that are Judges of the High-Court, that upon examination of the business they have not found me a medler at all in these Affaires. And truly I must needs say therefore, That it was a very uncharitable act in them (whoever they were) that brought such accusation against me, and irritated his Highness against me. I will not say it was malice, it might be zeal, but it was rash zeal which caused me to be sentenced to this place: The God of mercy pardon and forgive them all. And truly, as I am a Member of the Church, and as a Member of the Community where on behalf I have been speaking, I cannot but do as our Saviour himself did for his Disciples when he was to be taken from them, he blessed them, and ascended up to heaven. My trust is, in the mercy of the most High I shall not miscarry; and however my daies are shortned by this unexpected doōm, and shall be brought untimely to the

the grave: I cannot go without my prayers for a blessing upon all the people of this Land, and cannot but bless them all in the name of God, and beseech God to bless them in all their waies, and his blessing be upon them.

Let us pray.

O Most glorious Lord God, thou whose dwelling is so far above the highest Heavens, that thou humblest thy self but to look upon the things that are in Heaven, and that are in earth, and thou dost whatsoever thou wilt both in Heaven, in Earth, in the Sea, and in all deep places. In thy hands are the hearts of all men, and thou turnest them which way soever thou wilt. O Lord! look in mercy and compassion, we beseech thee, on this great and numerous people of this Land; look upon them, O Lord! with an eye of pity, not with an eye of fury and indignation; O look not upon all those great and grievous sins that have provoked thee most justly to wrath and displeasure against us. Gracious God! who can stand in thy sight when thou art angry? when thou with rebuke dost correct man for sin, thou makest his beauty to consume away like as it were a Moth fretting a garment. O Lord! thy indignation and wrath lies heavy upon us, and thou hast vexed us with scourges, thou hast made us a reproach and a by-word amongst our Neighbours, and the very Heathen laugh us to scorn. Oh that thou wouldst turn us again, O Lord God of hosts! that thou wouldst shew us the light of thy countenance, that we may behold it; that thou wouldst humble us for all those sins and grievous transgressions that are amongst us; for those Atheisms, for those infidelities, horrid Blasphemies, and Profaneness, for those Sacrileges, for those

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those Heresies, for those Schisms, Errors, and all those blindnesses of heart, pride, vain-glory, and hypocrisy; for that envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness, that hath set us one against another, that we are so dashed one against another, even to destroy each other; Ephraim against Manasseh, and Manasseh against Ephraim, and both against Judah. O Lord! we are like those Moabites and Ammonites, &c.----- This thou hast done to us, O Lord! because we have rebelled against thee: O how greatly and grievously have we sinned against thee: yet for all this thou hast not requited us according to our ill deservings, for thou mightest have brought us to desolation and destruction: Five might have come down from Heaven and destroyed us; our foreign Enemies, and the Enemies of thee, and thy Christ our Saviour, might have swallowed us up. What have we not deserved? Yet O the long-suffering, and patience, and goodness of our God! O Lord our God! we pray thee that thy patience and long-suffering might lead to repentance, that thou wouldst be pleased, thou who delightest not in the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his sins and live, that thou wouldst turn us unto thee, O Lord! and we shall be turned: Draw us, and we shall run after thee: Draw us with the Cords of love, and by the bands of loving kindness, by the powerful working of thy holy spirit in our souls, working contrition in our hearts, and a godly sorrow for all our sins, even a sorrow to repentance, and a repentance to salvation never to be repented of. Lord break these stony hearts of ours by the hammer of thy word, mollifie them by the oyle of thy Grace, smite these rockie hearts of ours by the Rod of thy most gracious power, that we may shed forth rivers of tears for all the sins we have committed. O that thou wouldst make us grieve because we cannot grieve, and

to weep, because we cannot weep enough: That thou
 wouldst humble us more and more in the true sight and
 sense of all our provocations against thee, and that thou
 wouldst be pleased in the blood of Jesus Christ to
 cleanse us from all our sins; Lord let his blood that
 speaks better things than that of Abel, cry louder in thine
 ears for mercy, then all those mischiefs and wickednesses
 that have been done amongst us for vengeance. O be-
 sprinkle our polluted, but penitent souls, in the blood of
 Jesus Christ, that we may be clean in thy sight, and that
 the light of thy countenance may shine upon us. Lord!
 be pleased to seal unto our souls the free pardon and for-
 giveness of all our sins; Say to each of our souls, and say
 that we may hear it, that thou art well pleased with us,
 and appeased towards us. Lord! do thou by thy spirit
 assure our spirits, that we are thy children, and that
 thou art reconciled to us in the blood of Jesus Christ. To
 this end, O Lord! create in us new hearts, and renew
 right spirits within us: Cast us not away from thy pre-
 sence, and take not thy holy spirit from us; but give us
 the comfort of thy help, and establish us with thy free
 spirit. Help us to live as thy redeemed ones, and (Lord!)
 let us not any longer by our wicked lives deny that most
 holy faith whereof our lips have so long time made pro-
 fession, but let us that call on the name of the Lord JE-
 S U S, depart from iniquity, and hate every evil way.
 Help us to cast away all our transgressions, whereby we
 have transgressed, and make us new hearts. Carry us
 along through the Pilgrimage of this world, supplying
 us with all things needfull for us; thy grace alone is suf-
 ficient for us: Lord! let thy grace be assistant to us, to
 strengthen us against all the temptations of Satan, espe-
 cially against those sins wherunto we are most prone ei-
 ther by custom or constitution, or most easily provoke. O
 Lord, with what affliction soever thou shalt punish, do

not punish us with spirituall judgements and discretions. Give us not over to our own hearts lusts, to our vile, lowd and corrupt affections. Give us not over to hardness and impenitency of heart, but make us sensible of the least sin, and give us thy grace to think no sin little committed against thee our God, but that we may be humbled for it, and repent of it, and reform it in our lives and conversations: And Lord! keep us from presumptuous sins, O let not them get the dominion over us, but keep us innocent from the great offence, O Lord our strength and our Redemer. And Lord! sanctifie unto us all thy methods and proceedings with us, fitting us for all further tribulations and tryalls whatsoever thou in thy divine pleasure shalt be pleased to impose upon us: Lord give us patience, constancy, resolution and fortitude to undergoe them, that though we walk through the valley of the shadow of death, we may fear no ill, knowing that thou, O Lord! art mercifull with us, and that with thy rod as well as with thy staffs thou wilt support and comfort us: and that nothing shall be able to separate us from thy love which is in Jesus Christ our Lord.

And (gracious God!) we beseech thee be thou pleased to look mercifully and compassionately on thy holy Catholick Church, and grant that all they that do confesse thy holy Name, may agree together in the truth of thy holy word, and live in unity and godly love, Thou hast promised, O Lord! The gates of hell shall not prevail against thy Church: Perform, we beseech thee, thy most gracious promises both to thy whole Church, and to that part of it which thou hast planted, and now afflicted in these sinfull Lands and Nations wherein we live. Arise, O Lord! and have mercy upon our Sion, for it is time that thou have mercy upon her; yea, the time is come, for thy servants think upon her stones, and it pinieth them to see her in the dust. Lord! maintain
 thing

thine own Cause: Rescue the light of thy Truth from all those clouds of Errors and Heresies which doe so much obscure it, and let the light thereof in a free profession break forth and shine again among us, and that continually, even as long as the Sun and Moon endures.

To this end, O Lord, blesse us all; and blesse Him, the posterity— which in Authority ought to rule over, and be above us: Blesse Him in His soul and in His body, in his Friends and in His Servants, and in His Relations: Guide Him by thy Counsell; prosper Him in all undertakings, granting Him a long, prosperous, and honourable life here upon earth, and that He may attain to a blessed life hereafter. And, gracious God! look mercifully upon all our Relations, and doe thou bring them to the light of thy Truth that are wandering and ready to fall. Confirm them in thy Truth that already stand: Shew some good token for good unto them, that they may rejoyce. O let thy good hand of providence be over them in all their ways: And so all orders and degrees of men that be amongst us. Give religious hearts to them that now rule in Authority over us: Loyall hearts in their Subjects towards their Supreme: And loving hearts in all men to their Friends, and charitable hearts one towards another. And for the continuance of thy Gospel among us, restore in thy good time to their severall Places and Callings, and give Grace, O Heavenly Father! to all Bishops, Pastors and curates, that they may both by their Life and Doctrine set forth thy true and lively word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments. And Lord! blesse thy Church still with Pastors after thine own heart, with a continuall succession of faithfull and able men, that they may both by Life and Doctrine declare thy Truth, and never for fear of favour back slide or depart from the same. And give them the assistance
of

of thy Spirit that may enable them so to preach thy word, that may keep thy People upright in the midst of a corrupted and corrupt generation. And, good Lord! blesse thy people every where with hearing ears, understanding hearts, conscientious souls, and obedient lives, especially those over whom I have had either lately or formerly a charge, that with meek heart and due reverence they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly serving thee in righteousness and holiness all the days of their lives.

And we beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord! to comfort and succour all those that in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity: Lord! help the helplest, comfort the comfortless, visit the sick, relieve the oppressed, help them to right that suffer wrong, set them at liberty that are in Prison, restore the banished, and of thy great mercy, and in thy good time deliver all thy people out of their necessities: Lord! do thou of thy great mercy fit us all for our latter end, for the hour of death and the day of Judgment; and doe thou in the hour of death and at the day of Judgement, from thy wrath and everlasting damnation, good Lord deliver us, through the cross and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the mean time, O Lord! teach us so to number our dayes, and me my Minutes, that we may apply our hearts to true wisdom, that we may be wise unto salvation, that we may live soberly, godly and righteously in this present world, denying all ungodliness and worldly lusts: Lord! teach us so to live, that we may not be afraid to die, and that we may so live that we may be alwaies prepared to die, that when death shall seize upon us it may not surprise us, but that we may lift up our heads with joy, knowing that our redemption draws nigh, and that we shall be for ever happy,
bring

being assured that we shall come to the felicity of the chosen, and joyce with the gladness of the people: and give us such a fulnesse of thy holy Spirit that may make us steadfast in this faith, and confirm us in this hope; indue us with patience under thy afflicting hand, and withall a cheerful resolution of our selves to thy divine disposing, that so passing the pilgrimage of this world, we may come to the Land of promise, the heavenly Canaan, that we may reign with thee in the world to come through Jesus Christ our Lord; in whose blessed Name and Words we further call upon thee, saying.

Our Father, &c.

Let thy mighty hand, and outstretched arme; O Lord! be the defence of me and all other thy servants; thy mercy and loving kindness in Jesus Christ our salvation, thy true and holy Word our instruction: thy Grace and holy Spirit our comfort and consolation, to the end, and in the end, through Jesus Christ our Lord Amen.

FINIS.